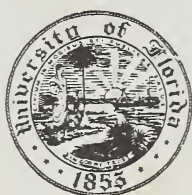



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HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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No. 1

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN SOUTH CAROLINA

By A. S. Thomas, Bishop of South Carolina

I. BEGINNINGS

CAROLINA was settled under the auspices of a group of eight "Lords Proprietors" who obtained a grant from Charles II in 1663, including a part of North Carolina, and all of South Carolina and Georgia. Nothing was done immediately. The Lords Proprietors received a second charter in 1665 including a grant to all territory between 29 degrees and 36 degrees and 30 minutes north latitude. Under this charter the Colony specifically now called "Carolina" was founded. It granted to the Lords Proprietors "the patronage and advowsons of all the churches and chappels which as the Christian religion shall increase within the Province, territory, islets and limits aforesaid, shall happen hereafter to be erected, together with license and power to build and found churches, chappels, and oratories in convenient and fit places within the said bounds and limits, and to cause them to be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of our Kingdom of England."

The Proprietors engaged the celebrated philosopher, John Locke, to draw up a model form of government for the Province. This he did in what was known as the "Fundamental Constitutions."* The limits of this article permit us to say little about this remarkable instrument. It provided for an aristocratic form of government

*Cf. Article by the late Bishop Cheshire on "The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina." *Hist. Mag.*, Vol. I, pps. 204-221.

U.D. 99 June 42 General 1.60

with an hereditary nobility. The eldest Lord Proprietor was called Palatine—"a sort of king of the Province"; a deputy Palatine was called Governor who took the place of the Palatine in his absence. In addition there were three other orders, Landgraves, Cassiques, and Barons. Nearly all the governors under the Proprietors were Landgraves. The nobility were given two-fifths of the land and the people at large three-fifths. The "Fundamental Constitutions" were never accepted by the colonists. However, they continued to be nominally in effect for fifty years and had a distinct influence until the Revolution of 1719, when Carolina became a Royal Province.

Following the provision of the Charter, the Fundamental Constitutions contained the following clause: "As the country comes to be sufficiently planted, and distributed into fit divisions, it shall belong to the Parliament to take care for the building of churches and the public maintenance of divines, to be employed in the exercise of religion, according to the Church of England; which being the only true and authodox, and the national religion of all the King's dominions, is also of Carolina; and therefore it alone shall be allowed to receive public maintenance by grant of Parliament." Although the Constitutions were never assented to by the people and never constitutionally in force, yet under the Charter, the Church of England was considered in a general way as established. However, the second charter provided "that no dissenter from the Established Church shall be in any way molested for any difference of opinion, so long as he behaves himself peacefully, any law or statute of England to the contrary notwithstanding." The Constitutions provided that "no man could become a freeman, or have any estates or habitation in Carolina, who did not believe in a God, and that he was to be publicly worshipped; but that Jews, Heathen and other dissenters from the purity of the Christian religion, were to be tolerated. Any seven or more persons agreeing in any religion might constitute a church, and should be protected in their worship. No person, however, over seventeen years of age not a member of some church or religious profession, could claim the protection of law or hold any place of honor or profit." Provision for such liberty in religion was perhaps unequaled among the American Colonies save probably in Rhode Island. In the actual history that followed there were indeed not a few lapses from the ideal provided, but these were always temporary—they were quite promptly and successfully resisted, and liberty of opinion did generally prevail.

It must be admitted that this liberty in religion may in the beginning have been somewhat at the expense of intensity of conviction. No one could claim that the religious motive predominated in the settlement of Carolina; it was secondary doubtless to economic

and political motives, but nevertheless the religious motive was conspicuous as would appear from the provisions cited and from facts which we must now recount.

Under direction of the Lords Proprietors the first permanent settlement in South Carolina was made in 1670 at Charles Town, on the west bank of the Ashley River, with William Sayle as Governor and colonists from England. The site chosen never seems to have been considered permanent. Very soon the present site of Charleston, between the Ashley and Cooper rivers, was chosen as a permanent location, and a town laid out. It was occupied in 1680. A prominent location was reserved for a Church in the new town and here the first church was built with the name of St. Philip, about 1681. The same site is now occupied by St. Michael's Church, built in 1751-1762, when a second parish became necessary in the city. St. Philip's had been moved to Church Street, its present location, in 1723, when the first building of "black cypress" began to decay. This second structure was greatly admired. Dalcho* says, "The celebrated Edmund Burke, speaking of this Church, says, it 'is spacious and executed in a very handsome taste, exceeding everything of that kind which we have in America,' and the biographer of Whitefield calls it 'a grand Church resembling one of the new churches in London.' " It was destroyed by fire in 1835 and succeeded by the even more beautiful present St. Philip's Church.

Notwithstanding the fact that apparently no church building was erected in the Colony for some ten or fifteen years after the first settlement (though very soon after the permanent site was occupied), yet the religious motive was active in the Colony from the first. Within three months after the first landing we find Governor Sayle importuning the Proprietors to send to them a clergyman, asking for "one Mr. Sampson Bond," then in Bermuda. He did not come, although the Proprietors made him a generous offer. Another effort was made a few months later backed by the leading men of the Colony; the need of an able minister was urged, by which youth might be reclaimed and the people instructed. "The Israelites prosperity decayed when their prophets were wanting, for where the ark of God is," said the Governor, "there is peace and tranquility." It was not until about 1680 that the desire for a clergyman was attained by the coming of Rev. Atkin Williamson, who exercised his ministry in the Colony for thirty years and was given a pension by the Assembly in his old age (1710). Rev. Samuel Marshall, A. M., was appointed to the cure of St. Philip's in 1696. This "sober, worthy, able and learned divine"

**Historical account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina, by Rev. Frederick Dalcho, M.D., Charleston.*

died of yellow fever in 1699—his successful ministry was all too short. In 1698 the Assembly established a living for the rector of St. Philip's. In the same year Mrs. Afra Coming left a valuable glebe for the Church. Both St. Philip's and St. Michael's Churches still enjoy an income from this donation. Marshall was succeeded as rector by Rev. Edward Marston, A. M., a Jacobite, who caused great contention. Toward the end of the century Rev. William Corbin ministered to the settlers about Goose Creek, where a church had been erected. This was the first Episcopal church erected outside of Charles Town. Thus by the end of the century, four clergymen of the Church of England had ministered in the Colony. In Charles Town there had also been erected a Congregational Church (about 1690), a French Protestant Church (about 1693), a Quaker Meeting House (about 1696), and a Baptist Church (about 1700).

Meanwhile there was taking place a movement destined to have great effect upon the life of the Colony. A few Huguenots settled in Carolina within the first decade after the original settlement, but after the Revocation they came in large numbers, establishing themselves principally in Charles Town and at three or four other points where churches were established. The gospel was first preached outside of the city by the Huguenots. The coming of these moral and religious people with their industrial habits added greatly to the social and economic life of the Province. They met with difficulties—there was a disposition among the English to withhold both political and religious liberty from them, notwithstanding the liberal provisions of both the Charter and the Constitution. However, the Lords Proprietors espoused their cause very warmly and in a few years the differences were adjusted. Within about twenty-five years, practically all the Huguenots and their churches were absorbed into the Establishment, the only exceptions being the Church in Charles Town, which to this day maintains its identity in its beautiful house of worship, and a later settlement at New Bordeaux in the upper country which turned to the Presbyterians.

In view especially of the untrue and almost absurd representation of the early settlers of Carolina in a popular American Church history* based on a prejudiced witness, as a band of "bankrupt pirates" and desperadoes, it may be said that while they were not a company of saints (though there were saints among them), they have been correctly described in these words: "They were not adventurers imbued with the spirit of conquest, but they were earnest men from every walk in life who came to seek new homes in a new country. They brought with them the customs and traditions of an older civilization. Some were

**McConnell's*.

colonists prepared to work in field and forest and some were men of means who came with their retinue of slaves to seek new fortunes in a new land. The settlement grew slowly. A spirit of self-reliance was necessarily engendered. What made this feeling of independence all the more prevalent was the distance that separated the Colony from the other English settlements to the north of Carolina. The settlements in Carolina from the very beginning were isolated and the Colonists realized that their safety depended upon themselves alone. This cultivated in them the practice of taking care of themselves and of not looking for help from the outside." It is not difficult to trace this independence of spirit in the subsequent history of South Carolina. As early as 1682 we find the Assembly passing an Act for "the better observation" of the Lord's Day, and for the suppression of idleness, drunkenness, and profanity. Similar Acts were promulgated later from time to time.

The year 1702 is notable in this period. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts had been incorporated in England in June, 1701. Their first missionary to South Carolina was the third sent by the Society to America. This was the Rev. Samuel Thomas, who arrived on Christmas Day, 1702. Not until the arrival of this Missionary, who labored zealously for four years, had any systematic work been done by the Church of England outside of Charles Town. It was designed that Thomas should work among the Indians, but these being at war, Governor Johnson assigned him to work at Goose Creek and on the Cooper and Wando Rivers. He died of a "pestilential fever" October, 1706, having made one visit back to England, submitting to the Society a very full report of conditions in Carolina at that time. The Governor and Council in reporting Mr. Thomas's death applied to the Society for four more ministers. This was the beginning of the very great work done by the Venerable Society in South Carolina. In all fifty-four missionaries were sent to this Colony—more than to any other American Colony except New York, to which fifty-eight were supplied. One hundred and twenty-nine clergymen are listed as laboring in South Carolina during the colonial period. Thus approximately two-fifths of the whole number were missionaries of the S. P. G. In 1771, however, the Church had become so strong in the Colony that the Society had only one missionary here. Not only did the Society send missionaries but they established a school in Charles Town, distributed books, and established parish libraries.

II. ESTABLISHMENT

Although it was intended that the Church of England should be established in the Colony, and this was nominally conceded, yet if we except the voting by the Assembly of a maintenance for the rector of St. Philip's Church in 1698, this establishment did not take definite form until the famous "Church Act" of 1706. Indeed it was in 1704 that the first Church Act was passed for establishing the Church, but some of the provisions of this act caused so much irritation to both Dissenters and Churchmen that it was repealed. One provision was the appointment of a lay commission for the trial of ecclesiastical causes. The S. P. G. resolved not to send any more missionaries until the law was repealed. The provision, it may be said, was intended as a means of getting rid of a pestilent rector (Marston) of St. Philip's.

By the act of 1706 the Church was legally established. This Church Act is a very elaborate instrument. Beginning with directions for worship by the use of the Book of Common Prayer, it goes on with detailed provision for every element of parish life. By the act the Colony was divided into nine parishes in addition to St. Philip's in Charles Town, as follows: Christ Church Parish; St. Thomas'; St. John's; St. James's, Goose Creek; St. Andrew's; St. Dennis; St. Paul's; St. Bartholomew's; St. James', Santee. The names of these parishes reveal the influence of the Barbadoes in early Carolina. Many of the settlers came from there. As in the Barbadoes, by this Act the Church wardens and vestrymen were invested with many civil as well as ecclesiastical duties. Especially were they entrusted with the duty of caring for the poor. Thus a Church organization was set up covering practically the whole colony. Provision was made for the immediate erection of churches in six of the parishes as also for rectories and glebes. These provisions of the act were soon executed. Some of the church buildings which were erected under the act were succeeded by other and larger buildings,—some fell into ruin. However, three still stand and are in use—St. James', Goose Creek; St. Andrew's; and Christ Church. Other parishes were soon established. At the time of the Revolution the number had increased to twenty-two. Governor Glen, writing in 1710, states that the population was at this time about ten thousand. One-half were Episcopalians. There were three thousand negroes. Of the total number, three thousand lived in Charles Town. The results of the Church Act were highly successful. Ramsay* says, "Endowing the Episcopal Church was the means of introducing about one hundred Episcopal Clergymen

**History of South Carolina, by David Ramsay, M.D., Charleston, 1858.*

into the country, who were men of regular education and useful in their profession."

From an early date the missionaries gave attention to a matter otherwise much neglected in the Colony—both Thomas and LeJau spent much time in instructing white and black. In 1711 the S. P. G. established a school in Charles Town. Its success being demonstrated, the next year the Assembly passed an act establishing free schools in all the parishes—that in Charles Town was immediately combined with the S. P. G. school. Education received an impetus through the influence of the first royal Governor in 1721. Bequests for the education of the poor were made by Richard Beresford of St. Thomas's parish, and by Richard Ludlam, Missionary at St. James', Goose Creek, who was indefatigable in his efforts for the instruction of both whites and negroes. It is interesting that both of these legacies, though much depleted, are still contributing to the cause of education in these old parishes. Commissary Garden established a school for negroes in Charles Town in 1742.

In 1719 South Carolina revolted from the Lords Proprietors and became a Royal Province.

The Church in Carolina suffered much from the many disasters that befell the Colony—the repeated scourges of yellow fever, the terrific hurricanes and especially in the terrible Indian massacre of 1715 and the ensuing war with the Yemasseees. Ruin and the ashes of churches and dwellings marked the progress of the enemy. In spite of all its difficulties, the Church grew steadily. Hewatt,* the historian, testifies soon after 1730, "The Episcopalian form of Divine worship had gained ground in Carolina and was more countenanced by the people than any other. That zeal for the right of private judgment had much abated, and those prejudices against the hierarchy which the first emigrants carried from England with them, were now almost entirely worn off from the succeeding generation * * * At this time the S. P. G. had no less than twelve missionaries in South Carolina. * * * Spacious churches had been erected, which were pretty well supplied with clergymen." However, all did not move smoothly. There was no little religious dissention in the Colony and opposition to the Church. A letter from the clergy to the Bishop of London in 1724 represents the Church as in "a very prosperous and flourishing condition * * * so neither can we but testify that it is without the least infringement of any of the rights or liberties of dissenters, * * *. We have now a flourishing school in Charles Town. * * * Dissention from the Church is chiefly supported

**An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*, by Alexander Hewatt, D.D., 1779.

by means of dissenting teachers from New England, and that part of Great Britain called Scotland, who transplant hither their dissenting principles."

The jurisdiction of the Bishop of London was acknowledged in Carolina practically from the first. He was fortunate in the three men who served successively as his Commissaries here, all being men of integrity and ability—Rev. Gideon Johnson, 1701-1716; Rev. W. T. Bull, 1723; and Rev. Alexander Garden, 1726-1756. The last named as rector of St. Philip's and Commissary became the leading figure for a generation in the life of the Church. He was both firm and gentle, a leader and a disciplinarian, not hesitating to arraign the clergy for misconduct. The clergy early formed the habit of meeting in convocation. LeJau in 1712 says, "The clergy met and conferred together in a most loving and unanimous manner." The Commissaries held regular visitations. On the 13th Visitation of Commissary Garden it was agreed that thereafter assize sermons should be preached by the clergy in order of seniority. While Carolina had a share in that worthless class of men from which all the colonies suffered, it is remarkable that they were as a rule a high class of men, as the best historians all testify. Concerning his visit in 1737, John Wesley says that he had "such a conversation on Christian Righteousness" as he had not heard at any Visitation, or hardly on any other occasion. In 1762, the clergy formed themselves into a Society for the Relief of the Widows and Orphans of the Clergy. Later laymen were included as members. This society still continues its beneficent work.

The churchmanship of a leading missionary just before the Revolution is described as "of that steady character which is not easily shaken by alarms; for while he mentions without comment that surplices were worn only in the three towns, he also tells as equally without comment, that St. Philip's was built after the model of the Jesuits' Church at Antwerp, and has rich cloths and coverings not only for the pulpit, but also for the *altar*."

The Church in Carolina just before the Revolution, with its twenty-two parishes nearly all filled with clergymen, was in a flourishing condition—a large work was being done among both whites and negroes, but dark days were ahead.

III. THE REVOLUTION AND AFTER

In considering the depleted condition of the Church in South Carolina after the Revolution there are certain facts in connection with that long struggle often overlooked by American writers. As

McCrady* says, "The conditions of affairs in South Carolina was without parallel in the history of the Revolution. No other State was so completely overrun by British forces. There was no part of her territory, from the mountain to the seaboard, which was not trod by hostile forces, no ford or ferry that was not crossed by armed men in pursuit or retreat, no swamp that was not cover to lurking foes. No other State was so divided upon the questions at issue, and in none other did men of both sides so generally participate in the struggle." Fifteen out of twenty clergymen had embraced the cause of independence—a record probably unequalled in any other colony. Dr. Robert Smith, rector of St. Philip's, who was to be the first Bishop of the Diocese, was "banished" to Philadelphia by the British after they took Charles Town. As impartial a historian as Bancroft says, "Left mainly to her own resources, it was through the depths of wretchedness, that her sons were to bring her back to her place in the republic, after suffering more and daring more and achieving more than the men of any other State." When the storm was over, its destructive effects were visible in many ways. During the years of struggle there had developed a strong antipathy to British institutions. There was, however, an active minority which espoused the Royal cause, and this but increased bitterness of feeling. The war ended, but it took many years to effect adjustments in view of the revolution in thought and life. The difficulties of the time were accentuated in the Church. J. J. Pringle Smith† thus well describes the situation: "Whoever will carefully peruse the journals of the early conventions must recognize another of many instances in which the Church out of weakness was made strong. Time permits no more than an allusion to trials, obstacles, delays, final triumphs. The people were reduced in means and not of one mind; the churches no more received aid from Government, no appropriations being now made for building new or repairing old; the Clergy were few in number and no longer allowed salaries by law; above all, the Church was still, as Commissary Garden had written in 1750 to the Bishop of London, without 'so essential a part of their being as that of a Bishop or Bishops personally presiding over or governing them; in their present condition certainly without a parallel in the Christian Church in any age or country, from the beginning.'" The vestries were jealous of their rights and it was with the greatest difficulty that agreement could be reached as to a diocesan constitution and by-laws. In contrast to what we find before and after, for thirty years following the Revolution the Church's light burnt low. During this period

**History of South Carolina*, by Edward McCrady. *McMillan and Co.* 1902.

†*Address In Commemoration of the Planting of the Church of England in the Province of Carolina*, by J. J. Pringle Smith, 1875.

the attendance at the Conventions (twenty-four were held in the first thirty years) did not average over eight parishes, although most of the twenty-two parishes had delegates present from time to time.

It was on May 12, 1785, in the State House in Charleston that the first Convention of the Diocese was held. Another meeting was held in the same year, July 12, when deputies were elected to the first General Convention. Hence it is that this year is the Sesqui-Centennial of the Diocese.

It was not until 1795 that the fatal need which had been lacking to the Church in South Carolina for over a hundred years was supplied by the consecration of Rev. Robert Smith, D. D., to be its first Bishop. He was the sixth in the American succession. It has been contended that South Carolina acceded to the plan of General Convention on condition that "no bishop would be sent to South Carolina." It is also said that South Carolina has always resented this. Doubtless both of these statements are correct, but they are not difficult of explanation. When the first is understood the second is thereby explained. I need not recall that background of opinion prevalent in all the colonies that Episcopacy was a sort of appendage of monarchy with pomp and powers temporal as well as spiritual. This did tend to caution, perhaps over-caution. It might well be conceded also that through long deprivation some had learned to undervalue the office. However, this is what really happened: when the Convention of the diocese in April, 1786, considered the sixth section of the Constitution proposed by General Convention, which was as follows, "The bishop, or bishops, in every state shall be chosen agreeably to such rules as shall be fixed by the respective Conventions, and every bishop, etc." Its action was, "Rule 6. Objected to; so far as relates to the establishment of a bishop in South Carolina. But recommend that the word *State* be inserted between the words *respective* and *Conventions*." Whether the Convention had reason or not to think "respective conventions" might refer to the General Convention, it was evidently so construed by them. What the diocese objected to therefore was not to the establishment of a bishop in South Carolina, but the mode of such establishment. What they feared was something similar to our present method of electing missionary bishops. That this position did not indicate any weakness concerning the necessity of the Episcopal Order but only caution as to its "establishing" is made perfectly clear by the fact that another Convention meeting five weeks later adopted as Article IV of its own Constitution this, "That the succession of the Ministry be agreeable to the usage which requireth the three Orders of Bishops, Priests and Deacons (with the exception, however, to the establishing of Bishops

in this State,) that the rights and powers of the same be respectively ascertained, and that they be exercised according to reasonable laws to be duly made." The most that can be said is that South Carolina was possibly over jealous of its ancient right as a diocese to choose its own bishop.

This it did after some delay. Bishop Smith was preceded in the American Episcopate by only five other bishops. As far as the record goes he never confirmed. The reason we are unable to give other than the confused life of the Church at the time. We hesitate to sit in judgment on this faithful minister of God after reading the record of his wise, fatherly, and active leadership of the Church in South Carolina before, during and after the Revolution. It was his influence that kept the Church together during a trying time and led it into prompt co-operation with General Convention, of which he was a faithful and active member. Bishop Smith died in 1801 and for eleven years the diocese was without a bishop.

IV. RENAISSANCE

The dawn of a better day began to break. In 1810 under the leadership of Dr. Theodore Dehon there was established "The Society for the Advancement of Christianity in South Carolina." Its object was "the promotion of Christian knowledge, learning and piety in this Diocese." This with the election and consecration of Rev. Theodore Dehon as the second bishop signalized the beginning of the new day. With unusual gifts of intellect and Christian character, Bishop Dehon was well fitted for the task of conciliation before him; in fact, already as President of the Standing Committee he had proven his capacity in such wise that all united in calling him to the Episcopate. They were not disappointed. It is interesting that the second and third bishops of South Carolina were both born in Boston, both also rectors of St. Michael's Church, and both are buried under the chancel of this Church—Dehon and Bowen.

The Advancement Society immediately began a great work. Few new churches in the diocese for the next one hundred years were established without the fostering care of this Society. It was the successor here of the S. P. G. Its first missionary was Rev. Andrew Fowler, whose life will be found in the last issue of this Magazine. Mr. Fowler began his work by planting the Church in Columbia and in Camden. This clergyman also had the distinction of presenting the first Confirmation Class in the Diocese—to Bishop Dehon at Trinity Church, Edisto Island, March 30, 1813.

From this time onwards the Church again grew and prospered.

Great attention was given to the instruction and confirmation of negroes. There were a large number of chapels for their use on the plantations and nearly all the churches had seats for them in the galleries. A detailed history of this time would be beyond the limits of this sketch. During this period Boone went from this Diocese to China, Scott to Oregon, Rutledge to Florida, and Gregg to Texas. The pages of the *Southern Episcopalian* show clearly the interest of the Church here in those days in the wider work of the Church. Very many clergymen went from this diocese to other fields. St. Helena's Church, Beaufort, perhaps has a record, sending forty-six men, it is said, into the ministry, including the Barnwells, Pinckneys, and Elliotts.

The steady growth of the Church is seen in the fact that in 1861 it numbered seventy-two clergy, sixty-seven Parishes and Churches, besides many mission congregations worshipping in chapels, nearly three thousand white communicants,—and it is noteworthy that there were at this time an equal number of colored communicants.

But we cannot entirely omit mention of the coming of another dark period. I shall not attempt to recall here what the Church suffered from 1861 to 1865. Suffice it to compare the figures just given with those of 1874—forty-eight clergy, fifty-three parishes in operation, twelve suspended and dormant—an increase of white communicants to nearly four thousand, but a decrease of black to about six hundred—about one-eighth of the whole against one-half in 1861. Nor can I more than mention the fact that again was the Church riven with dissension on the colored question beginning in 1886. It took years to heal the wounds of this controversy. This was accomplished in largest measure through the wisdom and the loving spirit of Right Reverend Ellison Capers, the seventh bishop of the diocese.

In 1921, when Right Rev. William A. Guerry was bishop and Right Rev. K. G. Finlay was Coadjutor, the diocese was divided, the latter becoming Bishop of the Diocese of Upper South Carolina.

Thus its Sesqui-Centennial brings before this diocese a checkered history. Time and again it has been in the wilderness, but always a merciful Father has led it on to a better place. Today it reverences a wonderful heritage from the past and looks with hope to the future while it joins in felicitations to its sister dioceses who are also celebrating their similar anniversaries.

ALEXANDER VIETS GRISWOLD AND THE EASTERN DIOCESE

By William Wilson Manross

ONE of the greatest weaknesses of the Episcopal Church during the period when it was attempting the conquest of this continent was its inability to generate organisms adapted to the new conditions with which it was faced. The "federated diocese," of which the Eastern Diocese was the only successful example, is one of the few exceptions to this rule which we can find in our early history. It had no definite precedent, and it was not the offspring of anyone's theory of polity. It was the creation of practical men, trying to deal with a practical problem, and it proved highly successful, under proper leadership, in serving the ends for which it had been organized. State feeling was too strong, in the early days of the nineteenth century, to permit the fusion of several states into a single diocese, but the civil constitution had already acquainted people with the advantages of a federal organization, and General Convention itself furnished an example of an ecclesiastical federation on a national scale. When, therefore, the individual states of New England found themselves unable to obtain bishops severally, it naturally occurred to them to join together for this particular purpose while retaining their separate organizations for all other purposes.

The scheme had its origin in an informal meeting of the clergy of Massachusetts and Rhode Island called together by the Rev. William Montague.¹ As a result of plans adopted at this meeting, the Massachusetts Convention of 1810 appointed a committee to raise funds for the support of a bishop, and directed its standing committee to "invite the several parishes of the Episcopal Church within the states of New Hampshire and Rhode Island to join with this convention in providing for the support and in the election of a bishop to preside over the churches in these states."² This invitation was subsequently extended to Vermont, and on September 26, 1810, representatives from these four states came together at Boston and adopted a constitu-

¹J. S. Stone: *Memoir of the Rt. Rev. Alexander Viets Griswold, Philadelphia, 1844.*

²*Diocese of Massachusetts, Journal of Conventions, 1784-1828, Boston, 1849, 106.*

tion for "The Eastern Diocese of the Protestant Episcopal Church," which provided that they should co-operate in the election of a bishop, and not much else. That the organization proposed to perpetuate itself, however, was shown by the fact that it provided for the election of a successor in the event of the Bishop's death.³

The man who was chosen almost unanimously to lead the new diocese was the Rev. Alexander Viets Griswold, who was then and for many years afterwards rector of St. Michael's Church, Bristol, Rhode Island. He had been born April 22, 1766, in Simsbury, Connecticut, the son of a prosperous farmer. He was brought up an Episcopalian, for his father's family, which was of English origin, had always belonged to the Church, and his mother, though the daughter of a German Calvinist, had been converted by her brother, the Rev. Roger Viets, a missionary of the S. P. G.

Mrs. Griswold was a strict parent who, when she could not think of anything else for her son to do, set him the unwelcome task of making "bone lace." She was also a devoted mother, however, and, amid the myriad duties of a farmer's wife, she still found time to teach the boy to read before he was three. By the time he was ten the precocious child had learned as much as his mother could teach him, and he was sent to his uncle, Roger Viets, a man of learning and the owner of a well stocked library. Viets was to Griswold both a preparatory school and a college, for an early marriage prevented his going to Yale for a more formal education, though it is said that his literary attainments were equal to those of most college men. His marriage also deterred him from joining Viets in the Tory exodus to Nova Scotia at the close of the Revolution.

Having acquired a wife, Griswold took to farming as a means of supporting her, continuing his studies by the light of the fire at night. In 1794 he became a candidate for orders under Bishop Seabury and immediately began his parochial labors, as was the custom of the time. He had charge of three small churches in Litchfield County, Connecticut, where he managed to build up respectable congregations by spending a good deal of his time on horseback, visiting the people, holding special services and delivering week-day "preaching lectures" at private houses, in addition to the regular services on Sundays. For this work he received a salary of three hundred dollars a year, which he supplemented by working as a farm laborer in summer and teaching school in winter. He was ordained deacon in June, 1795, and priest the following October, the latter being Seabury's last ordination. In 1804 he accepted a call to St. Michael's Church, Bristol, Rhode Island. This had been one of the strong parishes in colonial

³*Considerations on the Eastern Diocese, anon., Boston, 1837, 33.*

times, but had declined during the revolutionary period so that it had only twenty communicants when Griswold went there. Under his care it revived rapidly, so that by 1813 he was able to report 148 communicants.

It must have been his success as a parochial minister that led to his election as Bishop, for he had done nothing else to bring himself into prominence. Though he took part in the early measures for the organization of the Eastern Diocese, he was planning to return to Connecticut at the time of its first convention, and it was only with reluctance that he accepted the office which that meeting tendered him.⁴ His hesitation was due to his habitual distrust of his own abilities, and not to an unwillingness to face the difficulties of the new office, though these were such as might well have dismayed a heart less stout than his own. At the time of his election there were only fifteen clergymen in the four states comprising his diocese, and twenty-two church buildings, many of which were in poor repair. Thirteen of the churches were in Massachusetts and two more were in Maine, which was then a part of that state, which left only five for New Hampshire, four for Rhode Island, and none for Vermont.⁵ What was worse, the existing condition represented a regression from a more prosperous state, many flourishing parishes of the colonial period having been crushed by the Revolution. St. Paul's, Portland, was thought to be on the point of expiring, St. Michael's, Marblehead, was very feeble, the church at Taunton "had its very name trodden out by the iron hoof of revolutionary war," the parish of Bridgewater was still recumbent in its ashes and of some other churches all trace was lost.⁶

There were, moreover, a number of circumstances which made it seem unlikely that the time was a favorable one for a church revival. The colonial hostility to the episcopate, though it had been softened to some extent, was still strong, especially in New England. The association of prelacy with papacy still dominated the thinking of most New Englanders, and, though the achievement of political independence had removed any cause for fearing that bishops might become agents of civil tyranny, the struggle through which that independence had been won had served to tar most Episcopalians with a suspicion of Toryism, which was only just beginning to wear off. Westward migration, as yet uncompensated for by the importation of industrial laborers, was threatening to give New England a static, if not a declining population, and was drawing off precisely that class of young and discontented individuals to which an invading church

⁴Stone: *op. cit.*, 1-118.

⁵Journal of the Eastern Diocese, Boston, 1839, 14.

⁶Stone: *op. cit.*, 202-3.

must make its chief appeal. Nearly all of those who remained were already decided in their religious beliefs, and most of them had decided in favor of something besides episcopacy and liturgical prayer. while Unitarianism seemed likely to win most of the intellectual malcontents who might otherwise have been drawn to the Episcopal Church. Within the Church there had been, during the period which was just closing, a weakness and apparent lassitude which gave little promise of the energy which was soon to be shown, and there was also a distressing shortage of ministers which the call of the West kept from being adequately supplied for any years to come.⁷

This is the darker side of the picture. The lighter side can be seen more clearly by the present-day student than it could have been by Griswold and his contemporaries, for it is the result of forces which were then only just beginning to become apparent. The most important of these forces was the decay of Puritanism, a gradual process which has been a determining factor in much of the moral and religious history of our country. It had begun in the eighteenth century, but it was to assume an accelerated pace during the nineteenth and to continue, until today there is no religious group in the land which can properly be said to represent the full Puritan tradition. Parallel to it went an apparently contradictory movement, the waning of the spirit of religious indifference which had pervaded the revolutionary era. Between these two trends a ferment was set up, not only in New England, but in the country at large from which any religious denomination that was on the spot and alive to its opportunities might hope to profit.

Within the Church the long period of recuperation which followed on the revolutionary struggle and the effort of reorganization was drawing to a close and the conditions of a healthier life were beginning to appear. Some, at least, of the older parishes had become sufficiently revived to lend support to measures of expansion, and younger men, such as Griswold and his famous contemporary, Bishop Hobart of New York, were coming into the ministry with their eyes set upon the possibilities of the future rather than upon the failures of the past. The mild and discreet behavior of the early bishops, if it had not done much to increase the Church's activity, had served to quiet the distrust with which many American Episcopalians had previously regarded the office of bishop, so that they were now ready to admit an extension of episcopal activity in leading the expansion of the Church.

These circumstances, however, merely served to provide the Church with an opportunity for expansion in New England, as elsewhere. How effectively the opportunity was to be utilized in that

⁷Cf., *Journal of the Eastern Diocese, Boston, 1837.*

particular region depended mainly upon the qualities of the man who had been chosen to head the new diocese. With proper leadership, the difficulties could be overcome and the opportunities realized; without it, the obstacles must prove overwhelming. Fortunately, it soon became apparent that the new bishop was admirably fitted for the post. One who knew Griswold well in his later years has described him as a shy, silent man, who liked to cut his visits short for fear that he would run out of conversation,⁸ but he also was a man of great physical strength, with unwearied patience, quiet determination, sound judgment, a love of peace and an unlimited capacity for hard work.

He had been brought up under High Church influences, but had become a moderate Evangelical early in his ministry, having decided that the fundamental teachings of the Gospel, as he understood them, rather than the distinctive doctrines of the Church, should receive the chief emphasis in preaching.⁹ This did not mean, in his case, any lack of affection for the Church or its institutions. He held the threefold ministry to be of dominical¹⁰ origin and he maintained that the rubrics and canons of the Church gave sufficient scope for the most ardent piety and zeal,¹¹ but he did not believe that these opinions should be given the first place in our propaganda. Though he regarded the contemporary dispute concerning baptismal regeneration as mainly a verbal one, he insisted that to admit that some sort of regeneration took place in baptism did not lessen the importance which was to be attached to subsequent "spiritual regeneration," by which he meant conscious conversion.¹² He agreed with his contemporaries, and with his eighteenth century predecessors in distrusting "enthusiasm," or, as we should say, emotionalism, but he condemned the practice of "branding everything ardent and spiritual in religion with the name of Methodism."¹³ Like all Episcopalians of his day, he rejected the Calvinistic view of predestination. He thought, to be sure, that some sort of predestination was taught both by Scripture and the Church, but, he said, "Those gloomy notions of reprobation, which have driven some to desperation or other dangerous downfall, originate in the groundless fears or presumptuous reasonings of men."¹⁴ This position gave his teaching a note of liberalism when it was contrasted

⁸T. M. Clark: *Reminiscences*, N. Y., 1895, 67-73.

⁹Stone: *op. cit.*, 119.

¹⁰A. V. Griswold: *The Apostolic Office*, Philadelphia, n. d.

¹¹Griswold: *Christ's Warning to the Churches*, N. Y., 1817, 17.

¹²Griswold: *Discourses on the Most Important Doctrines and Duties of the Christian Religion*, Philadelphia, 1839, 213-27.

¹³Griswold: *Address to the Tenth Convention of the Eastern Diocese*, Boston, 1825,

14.

¹⁴Griswold: *Discourses*, 150.

with the dominant religion of New England, but he was far from going the length of Unitarianism or Universalism. He held that, without orthodoxy, no church was safe,¹⁵ and of the doctrine of the corruption of human nature he said, "It lies at the foundation of Christian theology and is essential to the doctrines of grace."¹⁶

The differences between High Churchman and Evangelical at this period related much more to questions of practice than of doctrine, and in the former respect Griswold's Evangelicalism showed itself even more plainly than in his teaching. He was one of the first clergymen in New England to hold Sunday evening "lectures," or informal sermons followed by extemporaneous prayers, and his regard for prayer meetings was so strong that even his habitual distaste for controversy could not prevent him from rallying to their defence when they were attacked by a High Church periodical in Boston.¹⁷ He favored the informal clerical associations, or "convocations" which were then regarded as peculiarly Evangelical, and he gave active support to interdenominational Bible Societies and the Temperance Movement, both of which were the offspring of Evangelical Protestantism. Though staid and quiet in his personal demeanor, he inclined towards emotionalism in his preaching, and regarded it as a cause for encouragement when his hearers were moved to tears.¹⁸ Under his leadership the Churchmanship of New England, outside of Connecticut, acquired a predominantly Evangelical character which contrasted with the prevailing High Churchmanship of the colonial period, and also with the strong High Church tendencies which developed in New York under his contemporary, Bishop Hobart. That both systems proved about equally effective in building up the Church would seem to indicate that the cause for the success of these two Bishops must be sought in what were about the only two characteristics that they possessed in common, their passionate devotion to duty and their sincere love of religion in the form in which they had espoused it, rather than in their distinctive forms of Churchmanship.

Griswold was consecrated, together with John Henry Hobart, lately elected Assistant-Bishop of New York, on May 29, 1811. It had been expected that the consecration should take place at New Haven, where the General Convention of that year held its meeting, but only two bishops were present there: Bishops White and Jarvis. Bishop Moore of New York was paralysed, Bishop Claggett of Maryland was ill and Bishop Madison of Virginia felt that his duties as President of William and Mary prevented his coming north. Jarvis

¹⁵*Griswold: Warning*, 7.

¹⁶*Griswold: Discourses*, 10.

¹⁷*Stone: op. cit.*, 121 and 329-33.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 283.

and White, therefore, went to New York, where Samuel Provoost, the resigned bishop, though himself in feeble health, united with them in the consecration at Trinity Church.¹⁹

As soon as he had been consecrated, Griswold threw himself energetically into the work of his office. At the convention of 1812 he reported the confirmation of 1,212 persons, the number, of course, having been swelled by the long period during which none of the constituent dioceses had enjoyed the services of a bishop.²⁰ Throughout the rest of his episcopate, he made it a practice to visit all of the churches in the Eastern Diocese every year, though throughout nearly all of the same period he continued to serve unassisted as rector of a flourishing parish. He also performed a number of ordinations every year, and he generally managed to attend several of the annual state conventions in addition to the federal convention of the whole diocese, which met first biennially and later annually.

Not content with the conscientious performance of these general duties, Griswold directed his efforts specifically to the overcoming of some of the major obstacles to the growth of the Church under his jurisdiction. One of the most important of these was the shortage of ministers, and to deal with it Griswold constantly endeavored to improve the means of theological education in his diocese. At the time of his consecration the only available means of obtaining such education within the Church was by personal instruction, and to facilitate this process he recommended in 1818 that such of the clergy as were able to do so should receive candidates for the ministry into their households.²¹ As the diocese grew stronger, he sought, with the co-operation of others, to obtain the founding of a diocesan seminary, for, though General Seminary had been founded in 1817, it was found that candidates who went there for their training were sometimes attracted to other dioceses than those from which they came and the predominantly High Church character which it assumed, under the control of Bishop Hobart, after its return to New York in 1821, prevented it from being an entirely satisfactory place for students of the Evangelical party.

The Eastern Diocese as a whole was not closely enough organized to carry out any of the seminary projects, and so they were undertaken by the Diocese of Massachusetts with more or less co-operation from its neighbors. The first of them was started in 1831, when the the Rev. John Henry Hopkins, then assistant minister at Trinity Church, Boston, began, with the support of the diocesan convention,

¹⁹*William White: Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, 1820, 32-3 and 287-8.*

²⁰*Stone: op. cit., 194-5.*

²¹*Griswold: Address to the Convention of the Eastern Diocese, Boston, 1818, 18-9.*

to teach a few students at Cambridge. He was disappointed, however, at the lack of interest shown in his work, and in 1832 he accepted the office of Bishop of Vermont, which withdrew from the Eastern Diocese in that year.²² In 1834 the Rhode Island Convention organized an Education Society to assist "pious and gifted but indigent young men" in preparing for the ministry, but its object was to give them financial rather than pedagogical assistance.²³ In 1835 the Massachusetts project was revived on a larger scale. A committee appointed in that year to consider the expediency of founding a theological seminary succeeded in obtaining pledges of \$32,000 for the purpose, and recommended that the institution should be started as soon as \$100,000 could be raised. At the convention of 1836 the clergy said they thought they could raise \$38,750 and the convention pledged itself to raise \$25,000, while the Diocese of Rhode Island offered \$25,000 for a professorship. The project was commended to the whole Eastern Diocese by the federal convention which met in the fall, but the long and deep depression which swept the whole country in the winter of 1836-7 and the years following, caused many of the pledges to be defaulted and the whole scheme had to be given up.²⁴ It was to be nearly thirty years before a seminary would at last be established at Cambridge, and then it was on the initiative of a generous individual.

In his second great objective, the raising of missionary funds, Griswold was more successful. The Convention of the Eastern Diocese in 1812 had requested the parishes associated with it to take up collections at Easter for the aid of the weaker churches, and this practice was continued with varying success throughout the diocese's existence.²⁵ In 1816 Griswold published a *Charge and Pastoral Letter* (first delivered in 1814) on the subject of missions, in which he observed that "The Gospel has been preached and is now heard in several small parishes, and some are likely to be preserved and raised up by your bounty."²⁶ At the same time, however, he felt constrained to express regret that Episcopalians were not sharing to a greater extent in the revival of missionary interest which was then taking place among Protestants. Throughout his episcopate he continued to impress upon his conventions the importance of raising missionary funds and to urge the settled ministers of his diocese to visit vacant churches whenever they could spare any time from their regular

²²Diocese of Massachusetts, *Journal of Convention*, Boston, 1831, 14-8; J. H. Hopkins: *Life of Bishop Hopkins*, N. Y., 1873, 144-5.

²³Diocese of Rhode Island, *Journal of Convention*, Providence, 1834, 33-4.

²⁴Massachusetts, *Journal of Convention*, Boston, 1836, 46-53; *ibid.*, 1837, 46, Eastern Diocese, *Journal of Convention*, 1836, 19.

²⁵Stone: *op. cit.*, 196.

²⁶Griswold: *Charge and Pastoral Letter*, Boston, 1816, 10.

pastoral duties. In both of these respects he was able to obtain a fair amount of co-operation. He also entered into a correspondence with the secretary of the English Church Missionary Society and was one of the first to propose the founding of a general missionary society in this country.²⁷

The Eastern Diocese, as such, never organized a diocesan missionary society, but such institutions were formed in some of the constituent states in the course of Griswold's episcopate. The Diocese of Massachusetts in 1809 organized the "Trustees of Donations to the Protestant Episcopal Church" and this body was incorporated by the legislature in the following year with a basic fund of \$1,000. Its members were elected by those already in it, and every lay member was required to pay five dollars annual dues or fifty dollars for life membership. Its funds were to be used for the support of the episcopate and for missions.²⁸ In 1818 the diocese secured the incorporation of the "Trustees of the Massachusetts Episcopal Missionary Society" and the "Trustees of the Massachusetts Episcopal Prayer Book and Tract Society."²⁹ The former organization functioned effectively for a number of years, but had become moribund by 1834, and as efforts to revive it in that year and the year following proved unsuccessful, Massachusetts set the precedent in 1836 of making its missionary activities the work of the diocesan convention, functioning through a diocesan board of missions. This institution proved quite successful in raising money, its receipts rising to \$3,203.91 in 1839, though they fell off about a third in the year following.³⁰

Rhode Island organized its missionary society in 1818 and it continued to function with fair success throughout the period with which we are concerned, its work being supplemented by the Clerical Convocation of Rhode Island and its auxiliaries. Maine became a separate state in 1820 and was consequently organized in the same year as a constituent diocese of the federation. It organized its missionary society in 1823, but it had a feeble existence and by 1838 even its records had been lost. In 1842 Maine organized a diocesan board of missions on the Massachusetts model.³¹

Griswold and those under him also shared in the contemporary interest in Sunday Schools. In 1818 he commended such schools to his convention and urged their establishment.³² By the time of his death, most of the states had organized diocesan Sunday School So-

²⁷Stone: *op. cit.*, 236-47.

²⁸*Abstract of the Records of the Trustees of Donations to the Protestant Episcopal Church, Boston, 1870, 1-23.*

²⁹*Massachusetts, Early Journals, 139.*

³⁰*Massachusetts, Journal of Convention, Boston, 1836, 57; 1839, 13.*

³¹*Diocese of Maine, Journal of Convention, Gardner, 1842, 7.*

³²Griswold: *Address to the Convention of the Eastern Diocese, Boston, 1818, 17-8.*

cieties and nearly all of the parishes had Sunday Schools. The character of these institutions had, however, undergone a change during the same period. They were originally founded for the purpose of educating the children of the poor to a point where they could at least read the Bible, but as time went on they became the chief means of providing religious instruction for all of the children of the parish.

Such were the methods and institutions which Griswold employed in building up the Church in New England. Their effectiveness is shown in the statistical summaries which he included from time to time in his convention addresses. In 1818 he was able to say, "I should judge that, at a moderate estimate, the old churches, of which, seven years ago, this diocese consisted, have since doubled the number of their communicants, besides the addition of fifteen or twenty churches . . . which are new."³³ In 1839, three years before his death, he gave a more extensive summary of the growth of the diocese. The fifteen clergymen who had been working in the several states at the time of their organization had increased to about a hundred. In Vermont, where there had been no churches in 1811, twelve had been consecrated and four were being built at the time of its withdrawal from the federation in 1832. In Rhode Island the four churches in use in 1811 had increased to eighteen by 1839, in Massachusetts thirteen churches had grown to thirty-eight, in New Hampshire, where there had been five there were now ten, and in Maine the three old parishes had increased to five. During the twenty-eight years since his consecration, Griswold estimated that he had ordained 148 deacons and 111 priests, confirmed 9,853 souls and traveled 70,000 miles.³⁴ In the last year of his life, 1842, when he was seventy-six years old, he confirmed 1,061 persons, a number which was second only to the record of his first year, when he had the deficiencies of a long vacancy to make up.³⁵

It had originally been supposed that the lifetime of one man would not suffice to bring the Eastern Diocese to a point where its member dioceses would be able to separate and stand alone, but Griswold's effective labors and his longevity combined to contradict this expectation, and only the reluctance of the several states to lose his personal leadership prevented the federation from being divided before his death. Suggestions for its division were, in fact, made from time to time, the first coming from Griswold himself in 1827.³⁶ In 1831 Massachusetts decided to withdraw from the union if it could retain the

³³Griswold: *Address*, 1818, 4.

³⁴*Eastern Diocese, Journal*, 1839, 14.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 1842, 21.

³⁶Griswold: *Address to the Convention of the Eastern Diocese, Boston*, 1827, 10-11.

services of the Bishop, but the proposal was not carried out.³⁷ Vermont did withdraw the year following, and this was the only division that occurred in the diocese during Griswold's lifetime. In 1836 Maine voted to withdraw as soon as it could find support for a bishop, but it was not able to achieve that object until several years after the federation had been dissolved, so the resolution never took effect.³⁸

In 1837 Griswold suggested either electing an assistant bishop or dividing the diocese. If the former expedient were adopted, he advised that the election should be made by Massachusetts, as he doubted that the federation had any constitutional authority to elect an assistant. His advice in this respect was disregarded, however, and the convention resolved to proceed to the election of an assistant at an adjourned meeting, without even resorting to the calling of a special convention. This action excited a good deal of opposition and a pamphlet controversy was waged in the interval before the reassembling of the convention. When that meeting took place, Griswold renewed his suggestion that the assistant be elected by a constituent diocese, and this time he was listened to. The Rev. Alonzo Potter, formerly rector of St. Paul's, Boston, but then Professor at Union College, was nominated by the federal convention with the request that one of its members would elect him assistant. The Massachusetts Convention complied with this request, but Potter, who felt that his obligations to Union had first claim upon him, declined.³⁹ Griswold did not obtain any assistance in his episcopal office until a few months before his death, when Massachusetts elected the Rev. Manton Eastburn of New York, who was chosen rector of Trinity Church, Boston, at the same time.⁴⁰

As an amendment had been adopted in 1838 providing for the dissolution of the federation on the death of the Bishop, the attack of heart failure which terminated Griswold's life on February 15, 1843, brought the history of the Eastern Diocese to a close as well, but before leaving the subject altogether, it is necessary to mention one or two incidents of Griswold's career which could not be fitted conveniently into the general narrative. He remained as rector of St. Michael's, Bristol, until 1829, when he finally accepted a call to St. Peter's Church, Salem, Massachusetts. He continued until 1834, when he gave up all parochial connections to devote himself exclusively to the duties of the episcopate.

³⁷*Massachusetts, Journal of Convention, Boston, 1831, 17-8.*

³⁸*Diocese of Maine, Journals of Conventions, 1820-40, Portland, 1876, 67.*

³⁹*Eastern Diocese, Journal, 1837, 14-5 and 19-20; Journal of Adjourned Convention, Boston, 1838, 14-6; Massachusetts, Journal, 1838, 60-3; M. A. De W. Howe: Memoirs of the Rt. Rev. Alonzo Potter, Philadelphia, 1871, 84-5. Potter subsequently became Bishop of Pennsylvania.*

⁴⁰*Massachusetts, Journal of Special Convention, Boston, 1842, 20.*

In 1824 he had a brief dispute with Bishop Hobart over the ordination of Dr. William Henry Ducachet, a successful physician of Evangelical sympathies, who had become a candidate for the ministry in New York, but whom Hobart had refused to ordain because he was alleged to have made a libelous attack upon a prominent citizen in a funeral oration which he delivered over the body of one of his friends. He then applied for ordination in the Eastern Diocese, and, after he had been duly approved by the standing committee, Griswold ordained him. Hobart contended that this implied a belief that his own refusal had been an act of oppression, but Griswold maintained that it simply implied a difference of judgment, and there the matter ended, after Hobart had aired the grievance in an address to his own convention. Ducachet justified Griswold's confidence in him by a long and useful ministry, serving for many years as rector of St. Stephen's Church, Philadelphia.⁴¹

In 1832 Griswold became involved in the only serious internal controversy that troubled his peaceful episcopate. The leader was the Rev. George Washington Doane, rector of Trinity Church, Boston, who, being a High Churchman and an habitual controversialist naturally became the leader of the opposition in an Evangelical diocese. He had been elected to the standing committee in 1831, and, under his influence, it had refused to approve the ordination of a candidate favored by the Bishop. As a result, at the next convention, some of Doane's supporters were dropped from the committee, though he himself was elected. After his allies had been unsuccessful in reversing the election by a parliamentary manoeuvre, he proceeded to launch an attack upon the convention in a church periodical which he published. He was answered in a pamphlet by his own assistant, the Rev. John Henry Hopkins, who was also a High Churchman, but who had none of the instincts of a partisan. He criticised Doane severely, on High Church principles, for opposing the Bishop in a matter which did not involve a question of conscience, and if the latter's armor was at all pierceable, the pungency of his comments must have given him an uncomfortable moment or two. The controversy subsided quickly after its two chief participants had departed to become bishops, respectively, of New Jersey and Vermont.⁴²

In the latter part of Griswold's episcopate we find allusions to a new factor which was to alter profoundly the character of New England society: the factory system. As early as 1825 he reports that the Merrimac Manufacturing Co. has erected a church in its new village

⁴¹Stone: *op. cit.*, 288-319; F. C. Ewer: *Memorial of the Rev. Henry William Ducachet, Philadelphia, 1866.*

⁴²Hopkins, J. H.: *Defence of the Convention, Boston, 1832; Massachusetts, Journal, 1832, 11-6; Hopkins: Life of Bishop Hopkins, 147-55.*

of East Chelmsford,⁴³ and similar references occur more frequently as time goes on.

Griswold's career covers completely the period of quiet expansion which falls in the years between 1811 and the advent of the Tractarian controversy, which did not become bitter in this country until the early forties. Griswold felt its effects in the closing years of his life, but only as a minor irritation, not as a dreadful portent. In 1841 he complained of the internal arrangements of St. Stephen's Church, Providence, and the church at Nantucket, and of the practice of turning away from the people in celebrating the Eucharist.⁴⁴ In 1842 he reported that the Nantucket Church had gotten worse instead of better. Its offenses included the use of an altar instead of a table for Communion, of candles, of a Madonna which was placed above the altar, and of Eucharistic vestments.⁴⁵

After Griswold's death, Eastburn automatically became Bishop of Massachusetts. Rhode Island, in 1843, elected John Prentiss Kewley Henshaw, formerly rector of St. Peter's, Baltimore, its Bishop, and New Hampshire chose Carlton Chase the year following. Maine elected George Burgess Bishop in 1847. Thus within five years after the closing of Griswold's labors there were five bishops (counting Bishop Hopkins) serving within the region where he had been called upon to save the Church from ruin thirty-six years earlier.

⁴³*Griswold: Address to the Convention of the Eastern Diocese, Boston, 1825, 4-5.*

⁴⁴*Eastern Diocese, Journal of Convention, Boston, 1841, 14-5.*

⁴⁵*Ibid., 1842, 12; Stone: op. cit., 437-45.*

EARLY DAYS OF THE DIOCESE OF VIRGINIA

By G. MacLaren Brydon

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND in Virginia, the Established Church of the colonial days, emerged from the Revolution in a most peculiar and difficult position. The part she had taken in the cause of American Independence had been a notable one. The very great majority of her clergy had in 1776 taken the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth and had continued as far as possible in pastoral work. They had been elected by the people as members of County Committees of Safety in one-third the counties of the State, and had furnished as far as is now known all except one of the chaplains for Virginia regiments and militia, and five of them had borne arms as active participants in military operations* and all of the great Virginian leaders in the Revolution were lay members of the Church, and so sure were they of the loyalty of their Established Church as a native institution that on the day after Congress declared American independence the Virginia Convention as the governing body of the Commonwealth amended the Prayer Book by removing therefrom all prayers for the king and royal family and inserting a prayer for the magistrates of the Commonwealth. Notwithstanding the rapid growth in numbers of Presbyterians and Baptists in the two decades previous to 1776, the majority of the population, certainly in the older sections of the State east of the Blue Ridge mountains, were nominally at least members of the Established Church.

The Church remained the Established Church of the Commonwealth throughout the Revolutionary period, and the Legislature continued to establish new parishes as part of the civil administration and to look to the vestries for the performance of definitely assigned duties, until 1784, when the Anglican Church was disestablished and the civil duties hitherto imposed upon the Vestries were assigned to other groups of officials in every county.

But the very fact of its establishment placed the Church in an

**For a biographical list of the Virginia clergy, and the part taken by each one in the Revolution, see the article "The Clergy of the Established Church in Virginia and the Revolution" in the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. XLI.*

untenable and intolerable position. The final severance of allegiance to the British Crown in 1776 had appeared both to dissenting bodies and to many members of the Established Church as obviously the time for removing the taxes for support of the Established Church and for abolishing the restrictions enacted into the Colonial laws which were considered as repressive or oppressive to dissenters. The various acts whereby taxes were abolished and restrictions removed were adopted at different sessions of the Legislature, but by the year 1782 every act adversely affecting dissenting Christians had been repealed.

The situation which the Established Church faced, however, was that the laws of the colonial period affecting its organization and government were still in force. The Legislature was the only governing body and had the sole power to establish parishes. The clergy under the law could not assemble with any legislative or other authority. No clergyman could be received as rector of a parish unless ordained by a Bishop in England and approved and recommended by the Governor of Virginia. All the freeholders in every parish, whether dissenters or churchmen, could take part in the election of vestrymen—and in some parishes, especially in the western part of the State, dissenters were in a strong majority and could elect whom they pleased.

The position of the clergy was exceedingly difficult. As the result of the Act of the Legislature adopted December 9th, 1776, remitting all taxes for support of the Established Church, the realization came with all the suddenness of a thunderbolt to every rector and vestryman that after January 1st, 1777, there would not be a shilling available for the salary of a rector or repairs to a church. The whole support of the Church had hitherto come from taxation, and this source was now closed—never to be reopened. How the clergy met the situation and the privations they endured are part of the unwritten history of the times. There were 97 parishes in Virginia in 1776, all having incumbents with the exception of two or, at most, three. Every parish had its glebe farm upon which the minister might raise food for his support. Many of the clergy conducted schools or tutorial classes, but some were compelled to withdraw from the ministry in order to make a living for their families in secular life. Some, not more than fifteen, because of loyalty to the mother country, returned to England or refused to accept charges under the new government. The normal number died or retired on account of age—and there could be no recruits through ordination by English Bishops. Yet in spite of losses from these sources, the years immediately after the close of the Revolution showed that more than half of the clergy

had endured and were still engaged in pastoral work in the State. From "The List of Parishes and Clergy in Them" in the Virginia Almanac for 1787, and other records, it can be shown that more than fifty of the clergy in Virginia parishes in 1776 were still in charge of parishes. A notable record, indeed, of their devotion to their Church.

There were yet more serious factors in the situation of the Church. It had no organization whatever and no power of self-government. Throughout the whole colonial period the Church was simply a group of unrelated parishes. The House of Burgesses legislated for the Church, established new parishes when increasing population required them, fixed the salary of the minister, ordered elections of vestrymen, heard and judged complaints of vestries against their ministers, and ministers or people against their vestries. The Governor approved or disapproved the credentials of ministers seeking to be appointed to parishes. The resident Commissary appointed by the Bishop of London, could and frequently did, call the ministers together in convention, but having met they had no authority to legislate for the Church in any particular. The Commissary at best had little real authority; and there was no Commissary after the Declaration of Independence.

The Church being supported by taxation, the people had never been trained to give to its support—and the long period of war with increasing taxation, the deflation of currency, and loss of export trade, the straining of every nerve in the struggle for political freedom, was not a time in which men could learn to give. Because the Church had never been permitted to organize, it had never developed leaders. The dissenting bodies around it had each one organized its own denominational life and developed its leaders, and its people had learned to give what was needed for its support. The Established Church was pauperized both in power of leadership and in ability to give. Under these conditions it entered upon its new phase of independent life.

The first suggestion of a meeting of clergy to discuss the situation of the Church came from the Rev. David Griffith, M. D., ex-Revolutionary Chaplain and Surgeon, and now rector of Fairfax Parish. In the Fall of 1783 he wrote to the Rev. Dr. John Buchanan, rector of Henrico Parish, suggesting that the latter discuss with clergymen living near Richmond the advisability of having such a meeting. Dr. Buchanan's reply three months later was that the clergy with whom he had consulted feared to have such a meeting lest it should "give alarm to the Sectaries." It was also thought that as the Legislature through the enactment of recent laws had brought the Church into difficulties, the Legislature itself should move in the

matter of giving relief. In spite, however, of so discouraging a reply, Dr. Griffith persisted in his efforts, and as the result a convention of clergy was held in Richmond on June 1st, 1784. How many clergymen were in attendance is not known, as no record of its personnel or deliberations is in existence. But it did prepare and present to the House of Delegates two days later a "Petition of the Clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia in Convention met" signed by Rev. Samuel Sheild as President of the Convention. In this petition the clergy asked that all laws governing the Established Church be repealed, in order that the Church itself might take order as to its own government; that the civil duties resting upon vestries be removed and members of the Church only be permitted to vote in the election of vestrymen. They asked that "The Legislature be pleased to enable the clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia by an act of incorporation to regulate all the spiritual concerns of that Church—alter its forms of worship, and institute such canons, by-laws and rules for the government and good order thereof as are suited to their religious principles." They also requested that provision be made for securing forever to the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia the churches, glebe-lands, donations and all other property belonging to the Established Church. This last petition was especially necessary because the denomination which fought for twenty years to secure the act of the State Legislature sequestrating all property of the "late Established Church" based its demand upon the claim that the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia was a new denomination newly sprung up and had no more right to the property of the Established Church than any other denomination in the State.

In response to this petition, the Legislature abolished the outworn laws and adopted a resolution approving "the incorporation of all religious societies within this Commonwealth which may apply for the same." Under this resolution a bill was passed December 22, 1784, for incorporating the Protestant Episcopal Church; an action which evoked bitter protest from other Christian bodies. No other society of Christians asked for incorporation, and under a storm of petitions the act incorporating the Protestant Episcopal Church was repealed in 1786.

It is worthy of note, however, that the Legislature, while it granted the petition of the clergy to release the Church from the old laws, and guaranteed to the Church forever the possession of all the real estate and other property belonging to the parishes of the Established Church, declined emphatically to incorporate the clergy as the governing body of the Episcopal Church. Nearly every member of the House and Senate either had been or was still a member of a

parish vestry, and under the old regime the vestry (including the minister as a member and presiding officer) had been the governing body in every parish, certainly as far as ownership and administration of physical property was concerned. The Act of Incorporation therefore directed that the rector and vestry of every parish should be a corporation to own and administer the property of the parish and that the Diocesan Convention or governing body of the Church in Virginia should consist of two delegates from each parish elected by the vestry. If the parish had a minister he should be one of the delegates: if there was no minister, the vestry should elect two laymen. In this way there was established in Virginia, as later in the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, the principle that was first introduced into the American Church among all the ancient historic churches of the Christian faith: that the laity should have as of right an active part in the formation of the doctrines and liturgy of the Church. More than that, the Act very obviously placed the balance of power in the hands of the laity.

Proceeding under the Act of Incorporation, the first convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia was formally called, and met on May 18th, 1785. Sixty-nine of the hundred parishes in the Commonwealth were represented by thirty-six clergymen and seventy lay delegates. Of the clergy, all except two had lived and ministered in Virginia throughout the whole revolutionary period. But it was preeminently a layman's convention. "No Convention or Council since," writes Dr. Goodwin, "has enrolled so many distinguished names or numbered so many statesmen of the first rank in the Commonwealth. Twenty of its members held seats as members of the State Legislature, including the Speakers of both the Senate and the House. Nine had sat in the Convention of 1776 and had aided in formulating the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the State. Four became Governors, four members of Congress, and three adorned the bench of the highest State courts, while two sat in the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States. One was a signer of the Declaration of Independence and one was to hold two portfolios in the Cabinet of the first President."*

It is at once obvious that the laymen, not only because of their numerical majority, but more because of their standing and power of leadership in the life of the State, dominated the Convention and formulated the Canons of their Church according to their own conceptions of what the Church should be in a free State. There can

**Quoted from an address delivered by Rev. Edward L. Goodwin, D. D., before the Council of the Diocese of Virginia, May 18, 1910—printed as an Appendix in Virginia Diocesan Journal for 1910.*

be no question of their loyalty, their devotion to the Church of their fathers, nor their genuine earnestness in planning its formularies for the fuller life of independence and autonomy. And yet as one studies the Canons adopted at this first Convention, one cannot fail to see the strong influence of the conditions of the colonial Church under which they and their fathers had been forced to live for nearly 180 years. None of them had ever seen a Bishop except perhaps when upon some visit to England. They had considered their Virginian parishes as being in a way under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London; they had received the Bishop's Commissary as having some tenuous, ill-defined authority, whose limits nobody knew; they understood that only a Bishop could ordain; but they knew nothing of the spiritual influence and leadership which a Bishop could exert.

On the other hand, they knew that the vestries of their parishes had been the one group in the Church in Virginia which during the colonial period had fought for and won from the Governor, backed by the authority of the Crown, such independence of governmental control as the Church enjoyed—namely, the right to select their own ministers, retain them without induction, and thereby hold in their own hands the power to dismiss those who should prove unworthy of their calling.

One must know the past training and experience of these laymen in order to understand why canons were adopted so much at variance with the life and meaning of the Church as we have come to understand it; or why they were willing at the Convention of 1787 to adopt a resolution asking the two Bishops in America of English ordination, Bishops White and Provoost, to ignore the historic rule that in every consecration of a Bishop three Bishops should act as consecrators, and begging that these two, or either one of them, should consecrate a Bishop for Virginia.

Some of the Canons adopted were as follows:—

11. As we conceive the office of a Bishop, according to the true apostolic institution, differs in nothing from that of other ministers of God's work except in the power of ordination and confirmation and the rights of superintending the conduct of the clergy and of precedence in ecclesiastical assemblies, that office shall accordingly be exercised in this Church, and every bishop after his promotion to the episcopal order shall continue to hold a parish and to do the duty of a parish minister except when he is necessarily employed in the discharge of his episcopal office.

12. No Bishop shall inflict any censure upon, or exercise any power over the clergy under his inspection other

than he is allowed to do by the laws and institutions of the Church made in Convention.

Canons 13 and 14 give the Vestry the sole authority to decide upon the credentials of a minister.

15. The right of presentation or appointing ministers to serve in the parishes shall continue in the vestries, and each vestry shall choose its own minister.

26. Bishops shall be amenable to the Convention, who shall be a Court to try them, from which there shall be no appeal. All accusations against a Bishop as such shall come from the Vestries.

Canon 29 directs that charges against a minister shall be tried by courts selected by lot equally of clerical and lay members of neighboring vestries. Conviction shall be reported to the Convention, who shall pronounce sentence either of reproof, suspension, or dismissal.

41. Ministers and deacons shall wear a surplice during the time of prayer at public worship in places where they are provided; shall wear gowns when they preach where they conveniently can; and shall at all times wear apparel suitable to the gravity of their profession:—such as may distinguish them from laymen.

The tenor of other canons is along the same line. Without perhaps realizing it they were trying to carry out the idea conceived in the minds of the Geneva-bred founders of Virginia in 1607, of forming their Church government along the lines of a Republic of God,—as Bishop Madison is said to have called it to the end of his days,—in which the power of a Bishop would be minimized to the utmost and the authority of the body of the Church exalted.

Beyond organization and the adoption of canons for its government the Convention issued a strong appeal to the members of the Episcopal Church throughout the State, appointed a "Standing Committee of Correspondence" to correspond with similar committees appointed by Episcopalians in other States and selected clerical and lay delegates to a general convention, which had already been called, of delegates representing the Episcopal Church in their respective States.

In 1785 the ecclesiastical as well as the civil situation of America was anomalous. There were thirteen sovereign States whose independence had been recognized by Great Britain, and with no bond of union betwixt them except the Articles of Confederation and the Continental Congress. The Federal Union was still four years in the

future, and each State looked upon itself as an independent and self-sufficient whole. The Episcopal Church was in a similar situation, its members in each State considering themselves an autonomous body. The Journal of Virginia's first convention was issued under the proud title of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia, similar to the precedent of the Episcopal Church of Scotland. The same thought was in the minds of Churchmen of every Commonwealth, and in each one they were organizing their Church according to their own conceptions and their own ideals. It was exceedingly fortunate that the bond of union in a Federal Church could be established as early as the autumn of 1785 before the divisive elements in different States had grown too strong to be overcome. As it was, the General Convention had to find a way through most difficult problems of differences of thought and administration into the unity of a common liturgy and a national instead of a sectional Church.

With the views as to the office of a bishop expressed in the Canons of 1785, the Convention of the Episcopal Church of Virginia proceeded in 1786 to the selection of a Bishop and to devising ways and means of securing funds sufficient to send him to England for ordination. There was at that time no Bishop in America except Bishop Seabury of Connecticut, consecrated in November, 1784, by the Bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church. William White in Pennsylvania and Samuel Provoost in New York were elected Bishops by the respective Conventions of these States and were consecrated in England February 4th, 1787. Rev. William Smith had been elected Bishop by the Convention in Maryland, but the General Convention of September, 1786, had declined to recommend him for consecration.* Consequently he was never made a Bishop. It was the strong desire of the churches outside of New England to secure the consecration of three Bishops by Bishops of the Church of England in order that the Episcopate in America might have orders derived in full from the Church of the Mother Country. The Episcopal Church of Scotland had been under the ban of government ever since 1745 on account of the part taken by its leaders in the rebellion of the Scottish Highlanders in that year in the effort to put Charles Stuart on the throne. The story of a past rebellion in Scotland meant perhaps nothing to the American citizens of 1785; but it was a matter of great importance that the weak Episcopal Church in the American States should be in full communion with the Mother Church of England, and they feared that unless future American Bishops should be consecrated by the requisite three Bishops of English consecration, Bishops conse-

*See letter of Rev. David Griffith to Rev. William White of October 20, 1786.

crated in part by English and in part by Scottish Bishops would become a political barrier to close relationship between the Church of England and the American Church. Bishops White and Provoost when consecrated in England had given their promise that they would not join in the consecration of another Bishop in America until there were present three Bishops of English consecration. This fear was held so strongly in America that even the Virginia Convention of 1787, which impatiently tried to cut a Gordian knot by asking Bishops White and Provoost to consecrate their Bishop without waiting for the presence of a third Bishop, refused to adopt a request that they unite with Bishop Seabury in the consecration.* As a matter of fact, no Bishop was consecrated in America until there were three Bishops of the English line present and taking part: when Bishop Seabury with true humility and Christian charity ignored the criticisms that had been made of his Scottish orders and joined with the other three in the consecration of Bishop Thomas J. Claggett for Maryland.

The Virginia Convention of 1786 elected Rev. David Griffith, D.D., as their Bishop. Dr. Griffith was born in New York in 1742 and after his ordination returned in the autumn of 1770 as a Missionary of the S. P. G. stationed at Gloucester and Waterford, New Jersey. In 1771 he came to Virginia as minister of Shelburne Parish, Loudoun County, and remained until the outbreak of the Revolution. He was Surgeon and Chaplain of the Third Virginia Regiment in the Continental Army from February 28, 1776, until March 18, 1779. He became rector of Fairfax Parish, Fairfax County, in 1780 and held that charge until his death, which occurred in Bishop White's home in Philadelphia during the General Convention of 1789. He received his degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Griffith had been the leader in the movement looking to the organization of the Church. He took the first step calling the preliminary convention of 1784, and in spite of discouragement on every side had persevered until the meeting was held. Records of that period are woefully lacking, but the vote he received in his election as Bishop shows that he was the first choice of the Convention.

The Convention issued an appeal to the Church people of the State for contributions of funds to pay the expense of his trip to England for consecration. But Virginia had been bled white through taxation, depreciation of currency, and the giving of her people to support the War, and the money was not forthcoming.

It has been commonly said that Dr. Griffith resigned his election at the Convention of 1789 because of inability to secure the funds necessary for the expenses of the voyage to England. But in his

**See letter of David Griffith to William White, May 28, 1787.*

letters to Bishop White written between 1786 and 1789 he intimates clearly cross currents and factional strife in the Convention, which provided at least an added, if not a stronger, reason for his resignation. The picture he draws is not a pleasant one. True, it is the opinion of one man alone, and no records have been discovered as yet showing the other side; and as one man's opinion it must be taken.

The Convention had accepted most of the proposed Articles of Confederation set forth by the General Convention of 1785 and the proposed Prayer Book, and had appointed a Standing Committee as the sole *ad interim* authority in the Diocese. When the Standing Committee received copies of the letter of the Archbishops disapproving the proposed changes in the Prayer Book, and the Act of Parliament giving permission for the consecration of Bishops for foreign countries, they came to adopt the opinion that there was no assurance as yet that an American could be consecrated. Drs. White and Provoost went to England that autumn relying upon the same letter and Act, and were made Bishops, but Dr. Griffith seemed to be prevented from going as much by the attitude of the Standing Committee as by the lack of funds. In his letters he writes Dr. White:—

“I look for nothing but delays and difficulties so long as the present Standing Committee exists, as I know some of the members to be unfriendly to Episcopacy, and that others among them will not be satisfied unless the head of the Church resides in or near Williamsburg and is so pliant that the sole direction of the concerns of religion may be in their own hands.” (Letter of October 20, 1786.)

“The Standing Committee met on the subject of the Act of Parliament and were of opinion there was nothing in that or the Archbishops' letter which would justify calling a Convention, ‘It appearing still a doubt whether consecration can be obtained in England, or whether the Bishops there will consider the alterations made here (i. e., in the Prayer Book) as sufficiently important in their estimation to justify a refusal of the request that has been made. We suppose they will decide upon perusal of the Book.’ The want of money at present is also given as an excuse for not calling the Convention together, which, I think, would be the only thing to hasten the collection of it.” (Postscript to letter of October 20th, 1786.)

“But the truth is that some (i. e., in the Convention of 1787) wish to prevent if possible the introduction of a Bishop among them. What other construction can be put upon the conduct of those who not only endeavor to throw difficulties in the way of its accomplishment, but propose such alterations in the Canons as would deprive the Bishop of the right of judging of the qualifications of Candidates for Orders and even compel him to ordain such as were offered

by two presbyters, though himself should not approve of them. They have also ventured to assert the equality of Bishops and Presbyters in primitive times and made attempts to deprive the former of his right of precedence in Ecclesiastical assemblies. . . . The number of these men is very small, but as their intention is disguised with great art, . . . they frequently draw in some well disposed persons to support their measures. . . . There was also another party who . . . hoped . . . to deprive me of a Testimonial. . . . They were, however, disappointed . . . for their conduct was so obviously malicious and mischievous that the Testimonial was signed by more than four-fifths of the members present. The friends of the Episcopal Church (myself in particular) have had, I do assure you, a very disagreeable time of it. But we had also the satisfaction of seeing our opposers foiled in almost all their absurd proposals." (Letter of May 28, 1787.)

In spite of a determination expressed in this last letter to adhere to his purpose of going to England for consecration as soon as the funds were provided, Dr. Griffith eventually decided to give up the attempt, and sent a letter addressed to the president of the Convention called for May, 1788, in which he formally resigned his election. But owing to the failure of delegates to attend, a quorum did not assemble and the Convention did not meet. His letter to the president was returned to him unopened. He finally, with manifestly a sense of relief, presented his resignation to the Convention of 1789 and it was accepted.

One cannot read Dr. Griffith's letters to Bishop White without perceiving the profound spiritual hurt he suffered from the attitude of those who, as it seemed to him, opposed the election of a Bishop and put obstacles in the way of his consecration. The Convention after accepting his resignation elected him a delegate to the General Convention which was to meet that year, and he died while in attendance upon its session.

The Act of Incorporation of the Protestant Episcopal Church was bitterly attacked in the Virginia Legislature in the autumn of 1786. "The Presbyterians," writes Dr. Griffith, "are petitioning for a repeal of the Incorporating Act, and the Baptists for the sale of the Glebes and Churches. It would seem that nothing will satisfy these people but the entire destruction of the Episcopal Church. I know not what will be the issue of this business, as many of our ablest defenders and warmest friends are not in the present Assembly." (Letter of October 20, 1786.)

The Act of Incorporation was repealed by the Legislature, but the Church had already while the law was in force established suf-

ficient organization to permit it to continue in existence. At the Diocesan Convention of 1787 canons were amended to conform to the new status by adding the provisions which had hitherto appeared in the Act of Incorporation. The effort to sequester the glebes, though failing at this session, increased steadily in strength and virulence until final success in the Legislative Act of 1802.

The Convention of 1790, after a year's consideration of possible nominees, elected Rev. James Madison, D.D., as Bishop of Virginia. He was consecrated in Lambeth Chapel on September 19, 1790, by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of London and Rochester. He was a native of the State, born August 27, 1749, and a relative of President James Madison. Graduated from William and Mary College with high honors, he studied law, but instead of entering upon that profession he accepted the professorship of Mathematics at the College in 1773. He went to England for further study in 1775, was ordained, and returned to his professorial duties in 1776. He was elected President of the College in 1777. He received in the same year a commission as captain of Virginia militia and organized the college students into a company, which was called out into active service on various occasions up to and including the Yorktown Campaign in 1781. Dr. Madison, and another Professor of Mathematics, the Rev. Robert Andrews, were appointed by the State Legislature as members, and the official astronomers, of the Commission created to act with a similar Commission from Pennsylvania in locating definitely and finally the boundaries between the western part of Pennsylvania and Western Virginia. The work of this Commission was finally ended in 1784. Dr. Madison also prepared a map of Virginia, which was accepted as standard for many years. Because of his position as President of the College, his services during the Revolution, and his scientific standing, as well as his ability as a preacher, he was easily the outstanding clergyman of the State, and was the first choice of a four-fifths majority of the Convention.

He faced a task which would have been appalling to one who could give his whole time to the administration of his Diocese. To one handicapped as he was by his duties as President of the College, and further tied down by his rectorship of James City Parish (the Jamestown Parish), it was an impossible one.

The College emerged from the Revolution with its physical property almost wrecked, its classes disbanded, its organization destroyed. Dr. Madison's task was to reorganize the faculty, secure students, rebuild a financial structure. He was the dominating guiding spirit in its revival through the exceedingly difficult period of general poverty, and was compelled to hold chairs of different departments to

supply the lack of sufficient faculty. With his Sunday duties at his parish church several miles from Williamsburg and his duties at the College keeping him at home during a ten months' session every year, he had little time for parish visitations or other diocesan administration. Yet with these handicaps what he did accomplish is remarkable. His reports of his first year's work shows fourteen parishes in different parts of the State visited by the slow method of horseback or carriage, and over six hundred persons confirmed in five parishes. All official records of his administration have been utterly lost. They were kept doubtless at the College and were probably destroyed either in the burning of the College in 1859 or the looting during the War Between the States; but from scattering sources we learn of visitations to parishes in later years, and the names of twenty-six men whom he ordained to the ministry. His addresses to the annual Conventions, several of which appear in the Convention Journals, are strong, vigorous charges to his clergy and people calling attention to the needs of the times. But the Church needed the constant active and aggressive leadership which no man tied down as Bishop Madison was could give—a leadership which possibly no man free of other duties could have given if he had considered himself bound to the strict letter of the Canons of 1785 expressing the Convention's conception of the office of a Bishop.

The Bishop upon his return to Virginia after his consecration came to a Diocese which had been constantly growing weaker since 1785. The disorganization was greater, the lack of discipline was becoming more pronounced. During the nine years of peace since Yorktown there had been exceedingly heavy emigration from the older counties where the Church was strong into the new counties of Kentucky and Western Virginia, whither the Church could not follow them. The growing sympathy for France, showing itself in the increasing adoption of French ideas and modes of thought, was leading great numbers of the Church's sons into the deistic denial of belief in revealed religion, which drew increasing numbers of men away from the Christian faith in the following decades. The Baptists, Presbyterians and Methodists were increasing rapidly in numbers and in strength and influence throughout the State.

The loss of the Methodists, who organized as a separate denomination in 1784, was an exceedingly heavy blow to the Church. They had come into Virginia in 1772 as a society within the Church, and had received the encouragement and strong support of the Rev. Devereux Jarratt, rector of Bath Parish in Dinwiddie County. Under his wide influence through adjoining counties in Southside Virginia the Methodist societies had increased rapidly in numbers and

membership. While in other States the Methodists were looked upon as Tories, and some of their leaders were interned during the Revolution, they had in Virginia increased steadily in numbers under the leadership of Mr. Jarratt, who was recognized as loyal to the Commonwealth. As a result there were more Methodists in Virginia at the close of the Revolution than in any other State. Mr. Jarratt tried his utmost to hold them within the Church in 1784 but failed. They had been taught to look to the rectors of their parishes for administration of the sacraments, but in 1784 there was an increasing number of parishes becoming vacant, and there seemed to be no certainty of reorganization of the Church or a Bishop in America to ordain. One wonders whether the refusal of the British Government to permit the consecration of Bishop Seabury in 1783 and 1784 was not the final straw which broke the determination of John Wesley and induced him to "ordain" superintendents for the Methodist societies in America.

Because of their numbers, their strong religious fervor, and their appeal to the common man, the loss of the Methodists was a greater blow to the Church in Virginia than perhaps it was in other States. Bishop Madison felt the loss so keenly that he proposed in the General Convention of 1794 the undertaking of an effort to bring them back into the Church's fold, but his proposal was received with scant favor and nothing was done.

But the condition which did most to bring the Church of Virginia to its ruin was the lack of solidarity, the seemingly entire absence of any conception of the Church as an organized body, and of responsibility on the part of individual clergymen or laymen for the wider interests of the Church outside the local parish. This is shown by the steady falling off of attendance at Conventions. The Convention of 1785 showed the presence of clerical or lay delegates from 69 parishes out of the 100 in the State—36 clerical and 70 lay delegates, a total of 106. In the Convention of 1786 there were 16 clergy and 47 lay delegates, a total of 63—in 1787 the total was 45, in 1788 so few came that the Convention could not meet. In 1789 the total was 33; in 1790, 56 to elect a Bishop; in 1791, 63; 1792, 47; 1793, 45; 1794, 30; 1795, no quorum; 1796, 60 to protest against sequestration of the Church's property; 1797, 61; 1798, no quorum; 1799, 37. With the exception of the years 1803 and 1805 there was no quorum at any attempted meeting of Convention from 1800 until 1812.

And yet this does not seem to be due to any lack of clergy. Over fifty of the clergy of the colonial period held their parishes throughout the Revolutionary period and served for varying numbers of years under the new organization. Twenty-five men went from

Virginia for ordination, five to Bishop Seabury and twenty to Bishop White, before Virginia had a Bishop of its own, and Bishop Madison ordained twenty-six. Indeed, he doubtless ordained a still larger number, as Diocesan records show thirty-six ministers of that period whose ordination has not yet been discovered. The full list shows over 150 ministers at work in the Diocese of Virginia for longer or shorter pastorates between 1785 and 1814. The soft, muddy roads of the springtime were as bad in 1785 as they were in 1900, and many of the clergy supported themselves by teaching. But if they and the laymen had sensed the supreme importance of solidarity and the power of an organized united body they would have come in far greater numbers than they did. The shadow of the old colonial existence as separate individualistic parishes with no relationship of one to another and no power of organization hung over the new Diocese and hampered all its work, and as it turned out, the older generation both of clergy and laity had to pass away before a new generation trained under the institutions of American life could take charge and reorganize the Diocese.

The new Bishop met the clergy and lay delegates of his Diocese at the Convention of 1791 and delivered a strong and earnest address urging his people to labor together for the upbuilding of the Church. At the following Convention he reported that "though he had too much reason to lament that sufficient regard was not paid to the decent support of the clergy in many of the parishes, yet the diligence with which most of the ministers continued to discharge their sacred functions, while it afforded the highest proof of their zeal and piety, yielded at the same time a pleasing hope that the Church would gradually revive."

This comment of the Bishop upon the character of the clergy is worthy of note, because one of the factors which contributed materially to the downfall of the Church in the later years of his episcopate was the evil character of some of the clergy who came into the State. The canons of the Diocese had placed in the hands of the vestry of each parish the full authority to select as their rector any episcopally ordained minister they chose. Neither the Bishop nor any other authority in the Diocese had power either to veto or question the selection made by any vestry. This freedom seems to have borne fearful fruit in the decade prior to 1812. It would appear as if most of the scum of immoral and unworthy men in orders cast out of the life of other American dioceses flocked to Virginia, and were enabled by fair speech to find their way into the rectorship of parishes. Of 99 clergymen ordained after the Revolution and holding parishes within the Diocese, 15 were notoriously and wretchedly unworthy. Drunken-

ness, bigamy, sexual immorality were the charges proved against one or another of them. Some of them remained for a year or two and were expelled, others continued their ruinous course for ten or even fifteen years, carrying the Episcopal Church continually downward and into the deeper contempt of the rest of the community. It was the existence of this group over a period of twenty years which has thrown the unmerited stigma of unworthy lives upon the Episcopal clergy of the period as a whole and brought unto utterly undeserved disrepute the Virginian clergy of the colonial period. The great majority of these unworthy ministers came into the life of the Diocese between 1795 and 1812. After the resolution of the State Legislature in 1799 declaring approval of the proposition to sequester the glebes and other Church property, and the Act of 1802 whereby it was put into effect, the whole organization of the Diocese seemed to collapse. The members of the Church seemed to think as did the Church's enemies, that the taking away of the property of every parish would mean the total destruction of the Church. Only two conventions met between 1799 and 1812. No record of that period appears to have survived, and in the lack of evidence it would seem as if neither the Bishop, the Standing Committee, nor the Convention thought it worth while to attempt to administer discipline. It was a period of utter and absolute hopelessness.

The one subject before the conventions from 1796 to 1799 was the steady increase of sentiment in the State in favor of sequestration, and the futile efforts made by the Convention to resist. Strong resolutions were adopted in 1797 setting forth the grounds of the title of the Protestant Episcopal Church to the glebes, churches and other property in their possession, and the opinion placed on record of Bushrod Washington, Edmund Randolph and John Wickham, three of the most eminent lawyers in the State, "That the Protestant Episcopal Church is the exclusive owner of those glebes, churches, etc.—that title stands upon the same grounds with the rights of private property which have been recognized and secured by the principles of the Revolution and the Constitution; . . . and that any question concerning the right of property in those glebes, churches, etc., being of a judicial nature, must constitutionally be decided by the judiciary, and the judiciary alone."* But the Church was too weak to put up effective resistance, and the blow fell. The Baptist denomination in Virginia in all their histories since that day have claimed that they were the leaders and most influential force in taking away the property of the Episcopal Church. There is no gainsaying their claim, but they were strongly aided by a group, numerous and

**Va. Conv. Journal, 1797.*

influential in the life of the State, of men who in following the denial of Christian faith prevalent in France, had taken a stand in opposition to revealed religion and to any form of organization in the Christian Church.

The Baptists were at this time the strongest and numerically the largest Christian denomination in the State. Alert and vigorous, flushed with success, they pressed with ever increasing force at every meeting of the Legislature for the seizure of the Church's property. Their contention, as stated heretofore, was, first, that the Protestant Episcopal Church was a new denomination entering the life of the State after the Revolution, and had no right whatever to the property of "the late Established Church," and, second, that inasmuch as most of the property in churches and glebe farms of the old State Church had been secured by money raised through general taxation, this property now belonged to the State and should be taken possession of and sold for the benefit of the public. They contended that the action of the Legislature in 1784 in guaranteeing to the Protestant Episcopal Church the full possession of Churches and glebes was *ultra vires* and should not stand. The Legislature in 1799 accepted these contentions and in 1802 enacted a law directing that all real estate owned by the Episcopal Church which in any parish had been acquired by money raised through taxation should be taken possession of by the Overseers of the Poor in their respective counties, after the death or resignation of the present incumbent ministers, and sold, and the money arising from such sale applied to any public purpose except a religious one. It is a noteworthy fact that the Act did not include church buildings. Most of these had been erected with tax-money, and the title by which the Church retained possession of church buildings was exactly the same as the title by which the glebes were held. Why the one class of property was taken and the other left is not explained. The Act exempted from seizure real estate which had been given or devised by the will of any donor. In very many of the parishes in older sections of the State the Church owned real estate or endowment funds which had been received by such gifts. Glebe farms, farms for the care of the poor, farms for the establishment and support of schools were included in this class of property. In the actual enforcement of the law almost all of this property was seized and sold along with the property secured by tax-money. The money arising from the sale of the Church's property was in large part lost or squandered, though several of the counties in Tidewater Virginia still own invested funds established out of the proceeds of the sale of glebe farms and property received by gift.

The constitutionality of the law was attacked and the case was

carried to the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia. Of the five members of this Court, one declined to sit in the case because of personal interest in the matter. The case was argued before the remaining four members and a decision three to one was reached declaring the law to be unconstitutional. Judge Pendleton, the President of the Court, had written the decision, and dropped dead with the paper in his pocket the day before it was to have been publicly announced. Because of his death another member of the Supreme Court of Appeals was appointed, and the case argued again. This second time the opinions of the Judges stood two for and two against its constitutionality and the law stood by a divided decision.

It is of further interest that when later the Overseers of the Poor of Fairfax County attempted to sell the glebe of Fairfax Parish, the case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. Christ Church in the town of Alexandria was the Parish Church of Fairfax Parish and, Alexandria being at that time within the District of Columbia, the appeal of its church wardens and vestry lay not with the Court of Appeals of Virginia but with the Supreme Court of the United States. The Supreme Court forbade the Overseers of the Poor to take possession of the property and Christ Church retained possession of the parish glebe.

Under the enforcement of the law the glebes were seized one by one during the following years as the incumbent of each one died or moved away. Suits were brought in several cases to prevent the county from taking possession, but in each case tried in the State courts the suit went against the Church. In most cases no further effort was made after the failure of the highest Virginia court to declare the Act unconstitutional, the general thought being that the Church was doomed. Very little effort seems to have been made to retain even those glebes which the Church had acquired by gift.* The cause of the Church in the eyes of her own children as in the eyes of her victorious antagonists seemed to be irretrievably and hopelessly lost.

The situation was truly deplorable. About a dozen parishes of the 100 in existence in 1784 had never, as far as our records go, seemed to have revived at all. In 47 more the effort to provide continuing salaries seems to have failed and the last known rectors of these parishes died or removed to other dioceses before 1802. In the decade ending in 1812 not more than forty parishes seem to have shown

**St. Paul's Parish in King George County owned two separate tracts of glebe-land, each of which had been given to the Parish. But the overseers of the poor, several of whom had been vestrymen in earlier years, sold both tracts, mentioning in each deed the name of the donor who had given the land to the parish. (See King George County deed books.)*

enough life to be able to contribute at all to the support of their ministers, and into these forty parishes came the unworthy ministers who contributed a moral wreckage to the breakdown of organization of the Church. About twenty parishes succeeded in retaining their ministers through the decade. In many other parishes where the organization had failed, efforts were made by the people to maintain occasional services by securing ministers from neighboring parishes, or sometimes inviting a Presbyterian or Methodist minister to hold services. But in most of the parishes the parochial organization had ceased and the church buildings stood abandoned, the prey of any marauder. The story of the old church buildings is a tragic one. They were considered after abandonment as belonging to the public and in perhaps most cases were used as union churches free to any denomination which could secure a minister. Many were taken possession of by a denomination and were eventually secured, either legally or by right of long use, as the property of that denomination. Many others were claimed by adjoining landowners and used as barns or as store-houses; and in one case the church was actually used as a distillery.* Fonts and communion silver were stolen or desecrated.

The report made to the General Convention in 1814 concerning the State of the Church in Virginia expressed the general opinion within as well as without the State. "From a variety of causes not necessary, perhaps not proper, to detail here, the Church in this State has fallen into a deplorable condition; in many places her ministers have thrown off their sacred profession; her liturgy is either contemned or unknown, and her sanctuaries are desolate. It would rend any feeling heart to see spacious temples, venerable even in their dilapidation and ruins, now the habitations of the wild beast of the forest."†

And yet notwithstanding outward appearance, the Church had continued to live in certain sections of the State in spite of every danger which menaced its life. In the Conventions of the three critical years 1812-14 a total of twenty-three parishes were represented either by clerical or lay deputies at one or more meetings, and indeed two new congregations, one in Richmond and one in Alexandria, had been established in addition to the parish churches in these towns. In a few other parishes ministers had continued to live supporting themselves by teaching school.

Bishop Madison died March 6, 1812, and was buried in the

**It has been estimated that there were about 250 churches and chapels belonging to the parishes in 1784. About 35 of these still standing remain in the possession and use of the Church. Ten or twelve others still standing are held and used by other religious bodies.*

†Gen. Convention Journal, 1814, p. 14.

Chapel of the College whose existence he had done more than any other man to preserve. Aroused by this event, the Diocesan Convention met on May 13th with twenty-five clerical and lay delegates present, and elected Rev. John Bracken, D.D., rector of Bruton Parish, Williamsburg, as Bishop. Dr. Bracken was one of the few remaining clergy of the colonial period, having been ordained in 1772. He was rector of Bruton Parish from 1773 until his death in 1818, and became President of William and Mary College after Bishop Madison's death. The vote by which he was elected Bishop was twenty-two to three. The three who voted against him were two young clergymen recently ordained and a young layman who was soon to enter the ministry, and Dr. Bracken perceived in the vote the protest of a group of young men who saw the need of a leadership which a man of his age could not give. The protest seems to have prevailed, for no effort appears to have been made to secure consecration for Dr. Bracken, and he resigned his election at the following Convention.

This Convention of 1813 was in a very real sense the turning point in the history of the Episcopal Church in Virginia. It had the smallest attendance of any Convention ever held in the Diocese, there being present nine clergymen and nine laymen; a total membership of eighteen representing thirteen parishes. They accepted the resignation of Dr. Bracken as the last gasp of the older dispensation and, displacing the older men from the Standing Committee, placed the reins of government in the hands of three young clergymen, John Dunn of Shelburne Parish (Leesburg), Oliver Norris of Fairfax Parish (Christ Church, Alexandria), and William H. Wilmer of St. Paul's Church, Alexandria. To these three men, and a fourth, William Meade, who was then Assistant Minister in Frederick Parish, the Church in Virginia owes, humanly speaking, her revival. John Dunn, a native of England, had been ordained by Bishop Madison in 1795. William H. Wilmer and Oliver Norris, both natives of Maryland, and ordained in 1809, had come to the churches in Alexandria, and William Meade, the future Bishop of the Diocese, had been ordained deacon by Bishop Madison in 1811.

The fact that the Monumental Church in Richmond, then in course of construction, was soon to select a minister, gave these young men the opportunity to suggest to the vestry of the new congregation that they should go outside the Diocese to call a minister of outstanding ability who might also be elected Bishop of the Diocese. The proposal was accepted. In the early months of 1814 the Rev. Richard Channing Moore, D.D., rector of St. Andrew's Church, Staten Island, New York, was elected to the rectorship and at the Diocesan Convention in May, 1814, he was elected Bishop of the Diocese. He was

consecrated Bishop May 18, 1814 by Bishops White, Hobart, Griswold and Dehon.

The choice was an exceedingly happy one. Bishop Moore had had a notable ministry and great crowds flocked to his preaching. A great preacher and able leader of men, genial and lovable in his personal characteristics, fired with unflagging zeal to preach the Gospel, he came into the shattered and cowed life of the Virginia Church bringing a message of courage and of hope. He was able to enlist the active co-operation of all the diverse elements within the Diocese, and from the first his Episcopate was a period of steady and increasing reorganization and growth. He reports at each of his earliest Conventions the eager welcome with which he had been received in his visitations. In his Convention report in 1815 he writes: "In every parish which I have visited I have discovered the most animated wish in the people to repair the waste places of our Zion, and to restore the Church of their fathers to its primitive purity and excellence. I have discovered an attachment to our excellent liturgy exceeding my utmost expectations." Revival and reorganization of parishes in all the older sections of the State continued with great rapidity, and at every annual convention for fifteen years or more report was made of additional counties entered and other parishes reorganized and started again in new life. The Church had also followed her children across the Alleghany mountains into the newer counties which became the State of West Virginia. By the time of Bishop Moore's death in 1841 the Diocese of Virginia had made for itself an assured place, and had become one of the strong Dioceses of the American Church.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND THE NEGRO RACE

By George F. Bragg, Jr.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH was the first of all the religious bodies in this country to engage in systematic work among the Negroes. She was the first to open schools for them, and train Negro teachers. She was, also, the first to ordain Negro men to the Christian ministry, and the first to receive a Negro congregation as a parish, with all the rights and privileges possessed by the other parishes, of that particular diocese.

The record shows that as far back as 1695, the Rev. Samuel Thomas, Goose Creek Parish, in the colony of South Carolina, was engaged in such work, and, ten years later, reported ten black communicants, who, with several others, well understood the English language. By that time, he had brought under his instruction as many as one thousand slaves, "many of whom," said he, "could read the Bible distinctly, and great numbers of them were engaged in learning the Scriptures."

Dr. Carter Woodson, in his history of the Negro Church, observes, with respect to this work in South Carolina:

"Manifesting such interest in these unfortunate blacks, their friends easily induced them to attend church in such large numbers that they could not be accommodated. 'So far as the missionaries were permitted,' says one, 'they did all that was possible for their evangelization, and while so many professed Christians among the whites were luke-warm, it pleased God to raise to Himself devout servants among the heathen, whose faithfulness was commended by the masters themselves.'"

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was, possibly, the first organization of any kind to introduce anything like a system of education in the colonies among the Negroes. Two Negro youths were purchased by this Society, set free, and educated as teachers. With respect to this venture, Dr. Woodson says:

"A new stage in the progress of this movement was reached in 1743, when there was established at Charleston,

S. C., a special school to train Negroes for participation in this missionary work. This school was opened by Commissary Garden and placed in charge of Harry and Andrew, two young men of color, who had been thoroughly instructed in the rudiments of education and in the doctrines of the Church. It not only served as the training school for missionary workers, but directed its attention also to the special needs of adults who studied therein during the evenings. From this school there were sent out from year to year numbers of youths to undertake this work in various parts of the colony of South Carolina. After having accomplished so much good for about a generation, however, the school was, in 1763, closed for various reasons, one of them being that one of the instructors died, and the other proved inefficient."

Possibly, in nearly all of the Southern dioceses, up until the outbreak of the War Between the States, the same thing was true, as in South Carolina, except in volume of work. South Carolina very greatly outdistanced all the other dioceses. At the time of the outbreak of the war, more Negro communicants, and Negro Baptisms, were reported in South Carolina than were reported of the white race.

In Maryland, about the same date of the organization of the Negro School in South Carolina, Dr. Bray was instrumental in the organization of two schools, one at Frederick, the other on the Eastern Shore. Some years ago, Mr. Lawrence Wroth, at that time Librarian of the Episcopal Library, Baltimore, in a historical treatise, uttered the following with respect to the Eastern Shore enterprise:

"Mr. Bacon had set an example in the Province in regard to the Christian Education of Negro slaves which was not generally to be followed by either clergy or laity for many generations. It was probably his work among the Negroes which led to the project of founding a sort of manual training industrial school for poor children. In a subscription paper circulated in 1750, he remarks upon the profaneness and debauchery, idleness and immorality—especially among the poorer sort in this province, and asks for yearly subscriptions 'for setting up a charity working school in the Parish of St. Peter's Talbot county, for maintaining and teaching poor children to read, write, and account, and in instructing them in the knowledge and practice of the Christian Religion as taught in the Church of England.' A few months later he had received from a goodly list of subscribers, among them the Proprietary and Lady Baltimore, Cecelius Calvert, and Bishop Wilson, a sufficient fund for the running expenses, and in course of a few years his subscriptions permitted the purchase of one hundred acres of land, and the erection of a suitable brick home and school. Thus, in the

year 1755, and for many thereafter, Talbot county boasted a fine charity school; but, thirty years later, when Bacon and nearly all of the original trustees were dead, it was turned over to the county for use as a poorhouse. The institution seems to have been born before its time, so far as Maryland was concerned."

In brief, all of the Church's effort among the Negroes, previous to Emancipation, was of a patronizing and charitable sort. However, much practical good was realized, but there was no serious endeavor at Church extension among Negroes, nor could such have obtained in the presence of human bondage. The great body of the Church was wholly indifferent to the work of Negro evangelization; but, from the very beginning, from the introduction of slavery in this country, to the present hour, there has been a militant "minority" of white men and white women who have lost no opportunity to work for the best interest of all, black and white, and such have co-operated in preserving to the Church "an open door" to the colored race.

A quotation from one of the lectures of the late Bishop of Texas, Rt. Rev. Dr. George Herbert Kinsolving, delivered at the Virginia Theological Seminary, February, 1902, indicates most clearly why we have failed in the past, and are continuing such failure. Said this dear friend of the black man:

"Here in our own dear Southland we have a race alien to ourselves, and I advance the suggestion with all humility, yet in all seriousness and earnestness, whether the main obstacles in the work today of evangelizing the Negro and raising him up to the measure of his full capacity as a human being, is not owing to a considerable extent to our own egoism and self-righteousness, and to our self-assertion of superiority, and to our persistent, self-willed abasement of a fellow-creature of like passions with ourselves. The Saviour said: 'Whosoever shall say unto his brother, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell-fire.' Canon Mozeley, in one of his profound sermons (the greatest sermons since the days of Bishop Butler), has elaborated the principle of the Saviour's declaration into showing how contempt for our fellow-man is akin to murder, and is to be punished with hell-fire. Describe it how we may, contempt for our fellow-man is one of the chief hindrances in the way of the evangelizing of the Negro and of all other peoples. Mutual contempt, if you please, but our share in the contempt is what concerns us, and for which we are responsible. In years gone by we treated the slave with contempt, and not as a brother. We refused him Christian marriage, and family life, and education. We trafficked in human flesh and blood, and we suffered the consequences. . . . And we are in

danger of a modified repetition of this offense in our attitude towards the Negro now. We have eight or nine millions of them in the South at the present time, with only about one hundred clergymen of our Church working among them, and the Church giving the paltry sum of \$72,000 per annum! The State laws are alienating and segregating the races more and more sharply each year. It is true that the different States are doing a vast deal for the secular education of the Negro. In my own State the Negro institutions rank with the best. But they all are on race lines, and the several religious bodies have handed the Negroes over to themselves, and their churches are a kind of Jim Crow car arrangement, and they have their own compartments for whites. Our Southern Bishops are almost the last bond uniting the two races, and popular demand may snap and sunder even this at no very distant day."

Bishop Atkinson, another noble Virginian ere the smoke of the Civil War had cleared came bravely forward in North Carolina, battling in the face of hard, bitter and unrelenting prejudice, established St. Augustine's College for the education of the colored race, organized colored parishes and had them admitted into union with his diocesan convention. And when the Standing Committee refused to pass the papers of a colored candidate for holy orders, invited two "Yankee" Negro priests from the North to come into his diocese, and admitted them to full privileges in his convention. Other Southern Bishops labored earnestly to do the same thing, but could not.

"God moves in a mysterious way His wonders to perform." It was reserved for poor, and almost helpless, Negro priests, to become "founders" and initiate the real constructive, self-respecting work of the Church in the great centers of Negro population.

In all of the following cities, as well as at points elsewhere, the work of the Episcopal Church among Negroes was founded by Negro clergymen through struggle with poverty and the indifference of the great body of the Church: Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, New Haven, Detroit, Washington, D. C., St. Louis, Chicago, Atlantic City, Asbury Park, and Wilmington, North Carolina.

The one lone Negro parish in the South emerging from ante-bellum times, St. Mark's, Charleston, S. C., made up of well-trained colored Churchmen from various parishes in South Carolina, after having organized, entirely supporting themselves, and having a white priest as their rector, was denied membership in the diocesan Convention and has remained in ecclesiastical exile to this day, long after the Civil War.

The few colored churches organized in the North previous to the

Civil War were organized by colored men and in accord with their own wishes. As a matter of fact, the first colored church with a colored minister of *any denomination* was a colored Episcopal Church. This congregation initiated the principle upon which all subsequent colored churches in the North (where the colored race took the initiative) were constituted.

On the 12th day of April, 1787, the "Free African Society" was organized in the city of Philadelphia. A few days before, on a Sunday morning, this group of Africans had been "insulted" while attending worship in St. George's Methodist Church. They withdrew and organized themselves into the Free African Society. This is the *first* organization of any kind on record consummated by members of the African race. Very soon this organization changed itself into an "undenominational" African Church. They solicited money and erected an edifice. Following the dedication of the church, July 17th, 1794, they met and resolved to connect themselves with the Episcopal Church; provided, however, the Episcopal Church accede to three conditions. First, they were to be received as an organized body; in the second place, they were to be guaranteed local control of their own affairs forever; and, lastly, one of their number should be licensed as a Reader and, if found fit, regularly ordained as their pastor. The Episcopal Church readily and heartily accepted the conditions and St. Thomas Church was received into union with it and given every privilege possessed by the other parishes.

In this church a year later Bishop White ordained Absalom Jones as its minister. Twenty-nine years after, in the same Church, Bishop White ordained William Levington to the ministry. Mr. Levington came to Baltimore the same year and with the model of St. Thomas founded St. James First African Church. The first Negro ordained in St. James Church, 1843, Eli Worthington Stokes, proceeded to New Haven, Conn., and founded St. Luke's Church, which was duly admitted into union with the diocesan convention of Connecticut, June, 1844. Mr. Stokes removed to Liberia, West Africa, where he wrought faithfully and finally died.

In the forties a talented colored Baptist minister, Parson Munroe, came into the Church in Detroit, Mich., and being ordained by the Bishop of Michigan, became the founder of St. Matthew's Church, Detroit. In this Church in Detroit James Theodore Holly renounced "Romanism" and was ordained to the ministry by the Bishop of Michigan. Shortly thereafter he visited the Republic of Haiti and, returning, was ordained to the priesthood and given the charge of St. Luke's Church, New Haven, while organizing his colony to settle in the Republic of Haiti. In 1861 or 1862 Dr. Holly emigrated to

Haiti at the head of the colony constituted by him. There he worked at his trade (shoe-maker), directed the colonists, organized the Convocation of Haiti, and, as its Dean, came to this country in 1874, arranged a concordat with our House of Bishops, and by them was ordained the first Bishop of the Haitian Church. For years he worked in poverty amidst superstition, neglect and oppression. But he succeeded in laying a strong foundation in that Negro Republic.

We might tell of the labors and sacrifices of Alexander Crummell, at Washington; of Cassius Mason, in St. Louis; of James E. Thompson, in Chicago; of C. O. Brady, in Wilmington, N. C., and of James N. Deaver, in Atlantic City, and of others, but space does not permit.

Whenever the Episcopal Church gives a genuine interpretation with respect to the Negro, of the *spirit* of the words of St. Paul, "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free . . . for ye are all ONE in Christ Jesus," and treats her Negro priests as men and not as children, then will she reap the harvest among the race destined by the Almighty God. Until then she will continue to mark time.

The late Bishop Henry Codman Potter, of New York, in preaching at the Centennial of St. Thomas Church, Philadelphia, in October, 1894, said:

"I do not think it would have been very strange if the colored race, after it had been freed, should have refused to follow the white people's God. It shows a higher order of intelligence and an acute discernment in the African race to have distinguished the good from evil, in a religion that taught all men were brothers, and practised the opposite."

JAMES HERVEY OTEY—FIRST BISHOP OF TENNESSEE

By Bishop Thomas Frank Gailor

AS AN INTRODUCTION to this story of Bishop Otey's life it is interesting to note how it was linked up with the lives of three other young men.

In 1822 James Hervey Otey, after serving for several years as a tutor of Latin and Greek in the University of North Carolina, rode on horse-back over the mountains into Tennessee and opened a boys' school in the little town of Franklin, about twenty miles south of Nashville. There he met a young man, named Piper, who had achieved notoriety by trying to carve his name above Washington's on the Natural Bridge in Virginia. Piper loaned Otey a Prayer Book, out of which he read prayers at the opening of his school, and the use of that book had such influence upon Otey, that, when he returned to North Carolina the following summer, he went to see a college friend, the Rev. William Mercer Green, and was baptized by him and soon afterwards confirmed by Bishop Ravenscroft. After two years in charge of a school at Warrenton, he was ordained to the diaconate and priesthood by the same Bishop. In 1827 he returned to Tennessee, reopened his school in Franklin, and held service and preached in the Masonic Hall on Sundays, where some of the people, not accustomed to a responsive service, said that it was interesting to "hear a man's wife jaw back at the preacher."

Meanwhile, a young North Carolinian of distinguished family, Leonidas Polk, had entered the West Point Military Academy and there had come under the influence of the eloquent young Chaplain, Charles P. McIlvaine, and was baptized by him in the presence of the whole cadet corps and presented for confirmation. After graduation Polk resigned from the Army, attended the Theological Seminary of Virginia and was ordained by Bishop Moore. Two years later he moved to Tennessee and served under Otey as Rector of the Church in Columbia.

It is interesting to know that these four young men became Bishops—Otey the first Bishop of Tennessee, Green the first Bishop of Mississippi, Polk the first Bishop of Louisiana, and McIlvaine Bishop of Ohio.

James Hervey Otey was born near the Peaks of Otter in Virginia on January 27th, 1800. His father and grandfather had served with distinction in the Revolutionary War, and he was sent to finish his education in the University of North Carolina. There his striking physique (he was six feet and three inches tall) and his black hair and eyes and swarthy complexion won for him among the students the nickname of "Cherokee." Soon after his graduation he married Eliza Pannell, of Petersburg, Va., and, as has been said, removed to Tennessee, and was elected its first Bishop and consecrated in Philadelphia on January 14th, 1834, by Bishop White, the Presiding Bishop, assisted by Bishops Henry U. Onderdonk, Benjamin T. Onderdonk and George W. Doane. Bishop Doane preached the sermon. Bishop Otey often expressed his admiration and reverence for the venerable Bishop White.

In his first address to his diocesan convention Otey insisted upon the urgent need of an institution of sound learning in the South-West under the auspices of the Church, and this subject was frequently referred to in his sermons and speeches, until it was brought to definite realization by his one-time assistant, Bishop Polk of Louisiana in 1859. So that it may be truly said that the University of the South, at Sewanee, was conceived by Otey and brought into being by Leonidas Polk, and was revived and refounded by Bishop Quintard after the Civil War.

For nine years Otey acted as Bishop of Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas and the Indian Territory. His journeys on horseback or by stage often lasted four or even five months through this vast field, and more than once his visits extended through Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and Florida. The risks and hardships he encountered on these trips can hardly be imagined, as the following quotation from one of his letters suggests:

"If I had any curiosity to see the Red Man in his native state, it has been fully gratified. The first day's ride of forty miles through mirey bottoms took us on a trail over hills, along the tops of mountains, and then through bogs and swamps, horrible beyond conception. Once we got into a low bottom, covered with water between knee-deep and saddle skirts in every direction, as far as the eye could see. . . . We arrived at the bank of a creek, which last night's rain had made impassable, and we had to camp in the wet bottom, the air chilly and the snow still falling."

This was a sample of many journeys through thousands of miles. Now and then the Bishop's sense of humor was appealed to. He was fond of playing the violin, which he often carried with him. And

on one occasion, having held service and preached at night in a strange town, he returned to the hotel, put on his dressing gown and slippers, got out his violin and began to soothe his feelings with an old-time melody. Suddenly the door of his room was thrown open by the Negro porter, who called out in a panic: "Boss, Boss, For God's sake stop playing dat ar fiddle. There's a Bishop in the house."

In 1850 the Diocese of Mississippi was strong enough to elect its own Bishop and Otey was happy to act as consecrator for his old friend William Mercer Green. It was not surprising, that his arduous journeys and incessant labors should have weakened his vigorous constitution, and so, by the advice of his physician he decided to take an ocean voyage. He sailed for England on April 12th, 1851. He was twenty-seven days on shipboard and suffered for the want of many comforts which his weak condition of health required. In England he found friends, who gave him a cordial welcome, and at the Jubilee meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in St. Martin's Hall, at which Prince Albert presided, he made an address that produced a profound impression and was cordially acknowledged by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

His friend, the Rev. Dr. Arthur Cleveland Coxe, afterwards Bishop of Western New York, accompanied him on a tour through the north of England, Scotland and Ireland, and, after three months on the continent, with his health greatly improved, he returned to his diocese in March, 1852, and resumed his active missionary work. But the loss of three of his children and the death of his dear wife and of his brilliant and devoted young friend, the Rev. Philip W. Alston, together with his increasing physical infirmity, made him feel, that he had reached the end of his labors.

A letter from him at this time to Dr. Quintard is full of pathos.

"I have visited," he says, "on an average, every congregation of my diocese twice a year. I have travelled by all sorts of conveyances, in all weathers—storm and sunshine—have preached, labored and taught from house to house; have traversed mountains and the lonely wilderness, where no man dwelt; and have left no expedient untried to make full proof of my ministry. I have gone generally over the South West, and at one time the limits of my spiritual jurisdiction, laid upon me by the Church, were Kentucky and Missouri on the North, to the Gulf of Mexico on the South, and stretching between the Eastern shores of Florida and the Pacific Ocean."

The Civil War, which he had tried in vain to avert by letters to Northern Bishops and to members of the Cabinet in Washington,

was a final blow to his spirit, and he died in Memphis, in the new Episcopal residence, which had been built for him, on April 23d, 1863, after receiving the Holy Communion at the hands of the Rev. Dr. Richard Hines. In his will he requested that he should be buried in the shadow of St. John's Church, Ashwood, the scene of his early ministry, and that his tomb should bear the inscription: "James Hervey Otey, First Bishop of the Catholic Church in Tennessee." The provisions of his will were carried out and today the Bishops and clergy of the diocese hold an annual service at his grave and commemorate the life and work of a great Bishop, Ho Doulos Iesou Christou, the servant of Jesus Christ.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH 1774

THE following extracts from Aitken's General American Register for 1774 have been given for publication by Mr. Alexander B. Andrews, of Raleigh, North Carolina, who owns a copy of this very rare volume.—(EDITOR.)

A LIST OF THE PARISHES AND THE INCUMBENTS IN THE COLONY OF MARYLAND 1774

In Baltimore County:

St. George's, William Edmondson
St. John's, Hugh Deans
St. Thomas,
St. Paul's, Thomas Chase

In Ann Arundel County:

Queen Caroline, James McGill
St. Margaret's Westminster, Robert Renny
St. Anne's, John Montgomery
All Hallows, David Love
St. James, Walter McGowen.

In Calvert County:

All Saints, Thomas Clagett
Christ-Church, Francis Lauder

In St. Mary's County:

King and Queen's,
All Faiths,
St. Andrew's,
William and Mary, Moses Jabbs.

In Charles County:

Durham,
William and Mary,
Port Tobacco, Thomas Thornton
Trinity,

In Prince George's County:

Queen Ann's, Jonathan Boucher
St. Paul's,
King George's, Henry Addison.

In Frederick County:

Prince George's, Alexander Williamson
All Saints, Bennet Allen

In Cecil County:

St. Mary Anne,
St. Stephens,
St. Augustines,

In Kent County:

St. Paul's, Robert Read
Chester, John Patterson
Shrewsbury, George Wm. Forrister

In Queen Ann's County:

Christ Church, Mr. Sandrum*

St. John's,
St. Paul's, Hugh Neal
St. Luke's, Samuel Keene

In Talbot County:

St. Peter's, John Barclay
St. Michael's, John Gordon

In Dorchester County:

Dorchester, Neil McCallum
Great Choptank, Philip Hughes, D. D.
St. Mary Whitechapell,

In Somerset County:

Somerset, Hamilton Bell
Stepney, John Scott
Coventry, Samuel Sloane

In Worcester County:

All Hallows, John Ross
Worcester.

CLERGY OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE COLONY
OF DELAWARE, 1774

Rev. Aeneas Ross, Missionary at New Castle.

Rev. Philip Reading, Missionary at Appoquinimink in New
Castle County.

Rev. Samuel Magaw, Missionary at Dover in Kent.

Rev. Mr. Lyons, Missionary at Lewes in Sussex.

**This is a typographical error in the Register; the name should be Landrum*

—(EDITOR.)

THE UNITED CHURCHES OF CHRIST-CHURCH AND ST. PETER'S
IN THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA

Rev. Richard Peters, D. D., Rector
 Rev. Jacob Duche, M. A.
 Rev. Thomas Coombe, M. A. } Assistant Ministers.
 Rev. William White, M. A. }

These united Churches were incorporated by Charter from the Honorable proprietaries of the Province, bearing date June 24, 1765, by the Name of "The Rector, Church-Wardens and Vestry-men of the United Episcopal Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's Church in the City of Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania."

The Present Church-Wardens

Mr. John Wilcocks Mr. Joseph Redman

The Present Vestry-Men

Jacob Duche
 James Humphreys
 John Gibson
 Benjamin Chew
 Edward Shippen
 Samuel Powel
 James Biddle
 Michael Hillegas
 Francis Hopkinson
 Peter Knight

} Esquires.

Joseph Sims
 Joseph Stamper
 Benjamin Wynkoop
 Thomas Cuthbert
 Charles Stedman
 Joseph Swift
 Peter Dehaven
 Dr. John Morgan

} Gentlemen.

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA

Rev. Mr. William Stringer, Minister.

The Present Church-Wardens

Mr. Ephraim Bonham Mr. John Wood

The Present Vestry-Men

William Standley	George Goodwin
Plunket Fleeson	Alexander Bartram
John Palmer	George Bartram
John Young, sen.	Christopher Pechin
Emmanuel Josiah	Joseph Turner
Jonathan Beers	Thomas Leech
John Young, jun.	William Shute
Richard Renshaw	Lambert Wilmore
George Claypoole	David Hall.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Centennial History of Saint Bartholomew's Church in the City of New York. 1835-1935. By E. Clowes Chorley, D. D., L. H. D.

Ordinarily the history of any individual parish would arouse only a lukewarm interest. Such a book may be a source of temporary pride to the limited group of people whose affairs are reflected in it, and a decent memorial to various names which otherwise might be forgotten; but the general public will pass it by unread.

Sometimes, however, there occurs the rare conjunction of the history of a parish of which there is a vivid tale to tell and an author of that history who is no mere scribe of names and dates, but one who sees his subject with sweep and imagination. Such a book is this new Centennial History of St. Bartholomew's Church. It is the record of one of the great parishes of America, which has been singularly blessed by great leaders, and which has responded to that leadership with boldness. St. Bartholomew's sought as its historian the man who perhaps knows more about American Church History than any other available writer and has known at intimate range what St. Bartholomew's has stood for and stands for now. Dr. E. Clowes Chorley has set in this book a standard to which all subsequent parish histories may well wish they could conform.

The book begins with a delightful chapter entitled *Looking Backward*, in which Dr. Chorley recreates the background of life in that year of 1835 when St. Bartholomew's Parish began. New York, as he reminds us, was then just a good sized town. "When the first church was built the population was about 260,000; at the time of the removal from Lafayette Place to Madison Avenue it had grown to 600,000 and in 1918 when the present church was erected in Park Avenue it was estimated at six millions. . . . The city was guarded by some six hundred watchmen who were on duty from sunset to sunrise. When not asleep on post they called the hours of the night, rang the watchmen's bell, gave alarms of fire and hung a lighted lantern on a pole to indicate the location of the fire."

Then follows a chapter on *The Beginnings* and one on *Early Parochial Life*, which recount the events of the organization of the

parish and the building of the first church, of which it was said that "architecturally the exterior of St. Bartholomew's was severely plain as were most of the New York churches." It is a far cry from that first building to the noble and colorful one which stands on Park Avenue now.

The first three rectors of the parish were Charles Vernon Kelly, Lewis Penn Witherspoon Balch, and Samuel Cooke. None of the readers of the Centennial History will remember the first two of these, and few will remember the third; but there are many who will feel their own personal interest strike fire as they read the chapter which tells of the ministry of the fourth rector of St. Bartholomew's, David Hummel Greer, of whom and of whose ministry Dr. Chorley draws a rich and beautiful picture, and one which only a historian of his wide knowledge could have drawn. For one sees here the thought and purpose of Dr. Greer outlined against the changing conditions of a time in which old theologies and old conceptions of the Bible were being abandoned and in which there was needed a "preacher who could interpret the old faith in the light of the new knowledge; bring out of the treasury things new and old, and harmonize reason and revelation. Such a man was found in David Hummel Greer. It was not long before New York knew that a prophet had appeared in St. Bartholomew's Church, and soon the empty pews were filled. For sixteen years a large congregation gathered Sunday after Sunday to listen to stimulating sermons and the fame of St. Bartholomew's grew. As Greer once laughingly said to a friend—"I preach to the United States."

After David H. Greer had been elected Bishop-Coadjutor of New York, he was succeeded by the brilliant and fearless Leighton Parks. As the only one of the former rectors of St. Bartholomew's now living, Dr. Parks is known and loved by many friends who miss the dynamic leadership which he always gave not only in his own parish but in the whole field of the Church's thought and life. He it was who led the movement which transferred the location of St. Bartholomew's from the site of its second building on Madison Avenue and Forty-fourth Street to its present commanding situation among the hotels and apartment buildings of Park Avenue. Much is told by Dr. Chorley of what Dr. Parks did during his rectorship. It could be wished that he had lengthened his record and told us more at length and specifically of Dr. Parks' preaching, for no bolder and more intrepid and careless-of-consequence prophet was known in his generation in New York. Memories are short, and it is a pity that Dr. Chorley did not refer in more than one sentence to a sermon which burst like a high explosive shell in the ranks of ecclesiastical con-

formity. 'When a comparatively small meeting of the House of Bishops issued the famous Dallas Pastoral Letter and sought to impose a literal interpretation of the Virgin Birth, Dr. Parks girded up his loins and preached the most outspoken sermon New York had heard for three generations. His intensest loyalties were for the Truth, no matter whence it came or whither it might lead.' Those who remember the reverberations of that sermon must wish that Dr. Chorley had included part of it in this memorable book.

After Leighton Parks came the shining figure of Robert Norwood, whose radiant message is reflected in perhaps the finest chapter of this history. Not only does Dr. Chorley make plain his greatness as a preacher, which all men knew; he reveals also what not all of the crowd understood, his genius for personal ministry.

"The large story of Robert Norwood's intimate personal ministry is written only in the Book of Life. Day by day his office hours were crowded with those who came seeking his counsel. Countless numbers of all sorts and conditions of men and women were drawn to St. Bartholomew's by his ever-widening fame, to discover not only a preacher of surpassing eloquence, but also a man of great understanding of heart and life; a man who sensed their perplexities and handled their difficulties with sympathetic insight. One by one they found their way to the quiet book-lined room where he loved to sit and muse, all seeking spiritual directions. Here also came the curious, the self-confident, prating of their right to self-expression and knowing no law but themselves." These got short shift. But the genuinely troubled, stretching out lame hands of faith found in him a pity matching their pathos."

Of the ministry of the present rector, George Paull Torrence Sargent, now in the early period of his growing contribution to the long and rich history of the parish, Dr. Chorley tells naturally in a briefer way, but as Dr. Parks, in the Foreword which he has contributed to the History wrote, "under Dr. Sargent's leadership those who love St. Bartholomew's will find new and broader opportunities for service and the strength which was 'yesterday, today and forever.'"

The final comment on this Centennial History may well be a word of gratitude and praise for its extraordinary completeness as a record. Dr. Chorley has not dealt with the rectors only. He has told of the men who made the music of St. Bartholomew's the noble thing it is. He has given a list of all the assistant ministers, and brief biographical sketches of the wardens and vestrymen who have served the parish since it began. There is a description also of the architecture of the present church; and the book, which is finely printed, is adorned with

numerous pictures of rectors, organists, and vestrymen, and of the exteriors and interiors of the three church buildings in which St. Bartholomew's congregation has worshipped through these hundred years.

WALTER RUSSELL BOWIE.

History of Saint Luke's Church in Allston. By Grace Whiting Myers, 1934, pp. 42.

Within the compass of less than fifty pages the writer of this book has told the full story of the only parish of the diocese of Massachusetts which was organized during the brief episcopate of Philips Brooks, and which particularly interested him because it was a venture of young people, most members of the vestry being in their twenties. It is well done. Nothing of importance in the life of the parish has been omitted and it includes a list of the names of those who served the church in an official capacity together with their years of service. This publication is an illustration of what might be done in many parishes to preserve a record of their history and thus contribute to the history of the Church at large.

The Beginnings of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut. By Origen Storrs Seymour, 1934, pp. 30.

This valuable sketch is issued by the Committee on Historical Publications in connection with the Tercentenary of the State of Connecticut and is beautifully printed by the Yale Press. Mr. Seymour, who is Chancellor of the Diocese of Connecticut, has outlined with necessary brevity but great clarity the beginnings of the Church of England in a hostile atmosphere. The brief Bibliography is somewhat inadequate. It is confined to the works of Beardsley. Mention should have been made of the extremely valuable contribution of Dr. Hawks in his two volume Documentary History of the Church in Connecticut which was based on unpublished documents.

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No. 2

EDITORIAL NOTES

FOR several years it has been known that the archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts were rich in letters and reports of the Society's missionaries in North America. For lack of funds these were not available for the use of students of our Church history, though of late years some photostat copies have been made for the Library of Congress. But a large number remained uncatalogued. We are happy to state that this defect is being remedied. By a large gift of the late Edward Harkness of this country what is known as the Pilgrim Trust has been created. The Trust has made a generous gift for the fitting out of an Archives room in London and also a grant towards the editing of the papers of the Society and their ultimate publication. The Archives room was opened on February 20. Pending publication it will now be possible to obtain copies of letters and other papers.

We are also happy to chronicle the arrival in this country of the Rev. Canon Stacy Waddy, D. D., secretary of the S. P. G., and Sir Edward Midwinter, head of the archives department. They come at the invitation of the Diocese of New Jersey and will visit the old stations of the missionaries of the S. P. G. in that diocese. Canon Waddy will be one of the speakers at the sesqui-centennial of the Diocese of New York, and Sir Edward Midwinter will broadcast an address over the Columbia network. Visits to Connecticut and Massachusetts will follow. Canon Waddy is to preach in the Washington Cathedral and Raleigh, N. C., and will have an opportunity to see Jamestown Island and Bruton Parish Church at Williamsburg, Virginia.

The Church in Illinois this year celebrates its Centennial with a series of impressive services and meetings. The April number of *The Diocese of Chicago* is a beautifully printed and illustrated account of the days that are past and the greater days to come. The primary convention, which was held at Peoria on March 9, 1835, elected Philander Chase as first Bishop of Illinois. There were present three clergymen and six laymen. Under the vigorous leadership of Bishop George Craig Stewart the Diocese of Chicago is going to express its thankfulness for the life and work of one hundred years by a concerted effort to raise within the next five years the sum of one million dollars. The HISTORICAL MAGAZINE wishes the Bishop and his army of helpers "good luck in the name of the Lord."

The attention of our readers is drawn to the fact that the September issue of this Magazine will be a Bishop Jackson Kemper issue celebrating his consecration as the first Missionary Bishop of this Church in 1835. Articles, written by experts, will cover his career as Presbyter, Missionary and Diocesan Bishop. His work covered Missouri, Indiana, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Minnesota, Florida and Wisconsin. It will be the nearest approach to an adequate biography which is now available.

After more than three years of invaluable service the Rev. Dr. G. MacLaren Brydon has been compelled to resign from the treasure-ship of this Magazine owing to increasing pressure of diocesan work. His successor is the Rev. Walter H. Stowe, rector of Christ Church, New Brunswick, New Jersey. Dr. Brydon's name has been added to the list of contributing editors.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL AND THE CHURCH IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES

Three Letters by
*Sir Edward Midwinter, K.B.E.**

I.

NEW YORK

I SHOULD NOT DREAM of attempting to deal in general with the early history of the Anglican parishes in the State of New York. But I have been particularly invited, on the occasion of this Third Jubilee Celebration, to say something of that history from the point of view of the S. P. G.

We treasure in our Archives a wonderful collection of letters and documents from the America of Colonial days, addressed or communicated to the Society by its Missionaries, their people and their patrons. It contains a vivid picture of the early growth and struggle of your Church.

The greater part of our records have long been accessible to the American public both through the facsimiles in the Library of Congress and through various printed transcripts; they are well known to American scholars as historical sources.

It may not be amiss, however, to remind you how this precious collection originated.

It is composed primarily of letters from the Society's Missionaries and Schoolmasters, from each of whom it required a half-yearly report. Some of these are brief, some give detailed accounts of the Parishes, and their cumulative effect is a living impression of the Religious development of the Colonies and its social and economic background. Interspersed among these Reports are Petitions from Vestries and leading inhabitants for the appointment of Missionaries and Schoolmasters, and added to these are Memoranda from the

**Sir Edward Midwinter desires it to be known that these Lectures were prepared by his associates in the department of Archives of the S. P. G. A further lecture on the Carolinas will be printed in a later number.—EDITOR.*

Governors, advice and appeals from the Rectors of New York and Colonial Members of the Society, addresses from Clerical Conventions, testimonials of candidates for Holy Orders, legal correspondence, and a variety of other communications, addressed to the Society, read to its Committee, filed away by its Secretaries, forgotten till age conferred a new value upon them.

It is notable that the fullest and perhaps, too, the most varied records are those from the State of New York.

In the seventeenth century it was generally held that the Bishop of London had the spiritual care of all the British subjects overseas. In 1696 Bishop Compton, anxious to know the true state of religion in America, appointed the far-sighted and energetic Dr. Bray his Commissary in Maryland. Dr. Bray returned deeply impressed with the lack of good books and well-qualified Clergy and did not rest until he had founded first the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge to provide the former and then, in 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to provide the latter.

Our Society's earliest letters are from Bishop Compton passing on petitions for help from American parishes.

At one of its early meetings it resolved to gather together accurate accounts of the needs of the Colonists and soon began to amass reports and appeals from those on the spot.

Vesey, the Rector of New York; Lord Cornbury, the Governor; Col. Dudley and Col. Heathcote all wrote of the needs of the New York parishes. Col. Heathcote is particularly vigorous in his account of the condition of the unshepherded people, whose manners he says, were so "intolerable" that

"having then the Command of the Militia, I sent an Order to all the Captains requiring them to Call their Men under Arms, & to Acquaint them y^t in Case they would not in every Town agree amongst themselves to appoint Readers & pass the Sabbath in the best Manner they could till such times as they could be better Provided that they should every Sunday call their Companies under Arms, & spend the Day in Exercise, whereupon it was Unanimously Agreed on thro' the Country to make Choice of Readers."

Besides gathering up these appeals from men on the spot, the Society sent out its own investigator, the itinerant Missionary Keith, but his letters on New York are the least interesting of his reports and he was mainly concerned to endorse the appeals and extol the characters of Vesey and Lord Cornbury.

The first Missionary appointed by the Society to a New York

¹A. Vol. 1. No. 182. (*Heathcote to the Society, 1704.*)

parish, Patrick Gordon, sent no reports home, as he died eight days after his arrival at his destination, Jamaica, on Long Island.

The first reports from a New York Missionary are those from John Bartow, of West Chester. Bartow had been intended for Rye, but West Chester had petitioned first and insisted on having him. He was excused by the Society on the representations of Col. Heathcote, who became a kind of patron to both parishes and wrote home fuller and more interesting accounts of them than the Missionaries.

The next earliest reports are from James Honyman, appointed to replace Gordon at Jamaica, but he was transferred to Rhode Island in 1704 and replaced by William Urquahart. In the same year John Thomas arrived at Hempstead, Long Island, and Enias Mackenzie at Richmond County, and George Muirson, first suggested as an assistant for Vesey, was appointed to Rye. These parishes and New Rochelle, where in 1708 the Society in response to repeated appeals adopted David Bondet, are the only parishes we were able to help till 1729.

But from 1701 onwards there is a great deal of correspondence about the Indian districts in the Valley of the Hudson, where the Society attempted to combine a mission to the Mohawks with the spiritual care of settlers and garrisons in Albany, Schenectady and Fort Hunter.

The Commissioners of Trade and Plantations recommended the Mohawks to the Archbishop of Canterbury before the Society's foundation. Soon after its foundation it was eagerly enquiring into means of supplying their needs.

In 1704 after much correspondence with the Dutch Pastors, who had already made some headway with the Indians, they appointed their own Missionary, Thoroughgood Moor. His reports, however, are full of discouragement, and he was soon succeeded by Thomas Barclay, who remained till 1716.

One of the persons suggested as a possible Missionary to the Indians was Elias Neau, a Frenchman settled in New York, who desired to become a member of the English Church. He declined the Indian appointment on account of the language, but begged to be made the Society's Catechist for the Negro Slaves in New York City. The Society was very much impressed by his accounts of the condition of the Slaves and readily appointed him to that work. At first there were difficulties with Vesey, as Neau continued his connection with the French Church, but soon Vesey and his assistant were both preaching on the necessity of giving the Negroes Christian knowledge, and Lord Cornbury also lent his powerful support.

Neau's voluminous reports on his school, with accounts of his

methods of teaching and his struggles against popular disapproval, are fascinating reading, but they are rather outside the scope of our present subject.

The immediate neighborhood of New York figures constantly in the Society's records from 1702 to 1776, since the Missions to West Chester and Rye were among the earliest and longest supplied, and there were also schoolmasters in two or three centres and the Negro Catechist and sometimes a schoolmaster in New York itself.

The Rectors of Trinity Church never needed help but they kept up a continual correspondence with the Society concerning the general condition and special needs of the Church in that Province. Similar letters were also received from the Presidents of King's College, New York (now Columbia University).

One frequent theme of the letters from this district was the need for sub-dividing the large and well populated Parishes. West Chester obtained a special Missionary for the French at New Rochelle. But for one reason and another the attempts to divide Rye were less successful. In 1741 the Missionary at Rye, James Wetmore, sent home a promising candidate for Holy Orders, Joseph Lamson, and wrote that

2^d "The Hon^{ble} Societies Catechist and School master at the White Plains in this Parish, dyed the 9th day of October last: And as North Castle, Bedford, Manor of Cortlandt, and part of Greenwich & Stanford with Rye, Momadek & Scarsdale (which places I have served alone for many years) make too large a District for one Minister, I have proposed to my Parishioners in the several Parts of the Parish, to raise a salary by subscription for another Minister to supply and reside in the Northern part of the Parish."

On the way home he was taken prisoner by the French. But he eventually reached the Society, was ordained, and returned to Rye, where he helped Wetmore till 1747. He then transferred to Fairfield in Connecticut and served the Ridgefield people from thence. All the northern parts of the parish were still served from Rye, which remained a very large and difficult Mission.

The project of making another parish in this district was revived about 1764 by a Col. Philips, who wrote to the Society that,

3^d "In the Infancy of this Country a small part of the Manor of Philipsburg (the name of my Manor) was taken Into the Parish of West Chester, as there were not then more than five or six Families on the Lower Part of the said Manor but

²B. Vol. 19. No. 74. (*Wetmore to the Society, 1741.*)

³B. Vol. 3. No. 255. (*Philips to the Society, 1764.*)

are now Encreased to near 150 Families a Sufficient Number for a separate Parish. In hopes therefore of Erecting the Lower Part Into a Parish I was Induced to Join in a Petition with my Tenants and some Free-holders about 140 in number to the Honourable Assembly of the Province Praying for leave to bring In a bill to separate the Lower Part of the Manor of Philipsburg Commonly called Jonkers from the Parish of West Chester by & with the Consent of the said Parish and to Erect the Lower Part of my Manor into a separate Parish and to tax us in the Annual sum of £100 Currency for the Support of the Minister."

Their bill, however, had been thrown out in Committee and as his people were still subject to West Chester taxes, he appealed to the Society for a Missionary. They appointed one immediately who stayed three years but unfortunately quarreled with Col. Philips over a glebe. His successor was more amiable and better provided, for he writes during the war time:

"The Glebe Land of this Mission contains one hundred and twenty acres of such Land as will produce annually, Bread, Corn, Meat & Cyder sufficient for my Family (12 in No.)."

In 1767 the Society had a Missionary in Salem on the borders of Connecticut (which was counted amongst New York parishes) who wrote of the need of yet another Church "south of Cortland and west of Ridgefield" for the sake of "30 Families of Church People besides a Considerable Number in Places very contiguous" who could not reach either of the Churches he served.

The Schoolmaster's reports are mostly very brief and to the point. But the Schoolmasters at West Chester, at Rye and at White Plains in Rye Parish appear to have been greatly valued by successive Missionaries, and when in 1761 and 1762 Rye was left for some time without a Minister, the Schoolmaster, Timothy Wetmore (son of James Wetmore) kept up the services as well as he could, and kept up also regular reports from the Parish. During Seabury's incumbency of the West Chester Mission the school there was for some years served by his brother, Nathaniel Seabury.

Like West Chester and Rye, Jamaica and Hempstead, Long Island were supplied for the whole period of the Society's activity in New York. The Missionaries at Jamaica served Newtown and Flushing as well, though there were one or two attempts to make Newtown a separate parish. Urquhart, the second Missionary, remained at

³B. Vol. 3. No. 255. (*Philips to the Society, 1764.*)

⁴B. Vol. 3. No. 21. (*Babcock to the Society, 1776.*)

⁵B. Vol. 3. No. 49. (*Townsend to the Society, 1767.*)

Jamaica only until 1708. The letters of Thomas Poyer and Thomas Colgan, who held the Mission successively from 1708 to 1755, are often interesting, but I will pass on to quote the account of the building of Flushing Church, which appears in Seabury's report for 1761.

6^{"In my last I informed you that the People of Flushing were finishing their Church. The severe Cold Weather, the past Winter obliged them to suspend the Work some months, but they have now resumed it, and are likely to complete it in a short Time, together with a hansom Steeple, which was begun the last Autumn. The principal Expence of this Work is defrayed by Mr. John Aspinwall & Mr. Thomas Grennab, two Gentlemen who have lately retired there from New York; Mr. Aspinwall had besides made them a present of a very fine Bell of about five hundred Weight."}

Hempstead was served by its first Missionary, Thomas, till 1724. He was succeeded by Robert Jenney, who stayed eighteen years and was followed by Samuel Seabury, senior, who stayed till his death, twenty-two years later, a remarkable series of long incumbencies. The parish of Hempstead regularly included Oyster Bay and until Missions were set up first at Brookhaven and then at Huntington, the Missionaries at Hempstead did what they could for the scattered families of "Church People" in Suffolk County, the only part of New York Province where there was no Parish established by Act of Assembly. The letters from Hempstead are full of the needs of these people and the efforts of successive Missionaries to reach them.

After one short-lived attempt in 1724, a Mission was definitely established at Brookhaven in 1729. The Missionaries appointed to it did their best to go over the whole county, preaching and holding services in as many townships as possible, but it was a very large district to cover. In 1741 Isaac Browne reported that he had

7^{"lately been at the East End of this Island out 50 or 60 miles Eastward of Brookhaven the town in which I live, when passing through several small towns and villages, I preached six or seven times in the space of eight Days to pretty large Auditorys and at a place called East Hampton to a large congregation in the Meeting House which is a large Building consisting of two tiers of Gallerys one above another and the whole seemed to be full from the Bottom to the Top and I do sincerely believe there never was so glorious a prospect of increasing our Church upon Long Island as at this Day if a Missionary could be sent among them."}

⁶B. Vol. 2. No. 157. (*Seabury to the Society, 1761.*)

⁷B. Vol. 9. No. 74. (*Browne to the Society, 1741.*)

The Missionaries at Hempstead continued to help, and it was in 1759 that Seabury, senior, wrote:

⁸"I beg leave here to observe that if there was an Itinerant Missionary on Long Island, to have his Chief Residence at Huntington, where they have purchased a parsonage House and Glebe of Several acres of Good Land. To visit the South Side of Long Island & to assist the missionaries upon their occasional absences he might be very (useful) to ye pious Designs of ye Honble. Society."

A Mission was established at Huntingdon in 1761. The people having erected a Church and procured a glebe, sent home a candidate for Holy Orders, but a difficulty arose over some legal detail which upset their plans, so they persuaded James Greateon, a clergyman from Boston, to settle with them and the Society to appoint him their Missionary. His reports indicate a very happy relation with his parishioners, but he suffered from constant ill health and died in 1773.

Schools were established in Jamaica and Hempstead in 1739 and in 1763 another at Flushing, but the schoolmaster's letters do not add much to the Missionary's reports.

Staten Island, or Richmond County as they called it, was served by its first Missionary, Mackenzie, till 1721. The Mission was then vacant till William Harrison was appointed ten years later, after which it was constantly supplied until 1777. Judging by the vividness of their letters the most vigorous incumbents were Jonathan Arnold and Richard Charlton. The latter served the Mission from 1747 till the War of Independence, and we shall return again to his reports, only remarking now his efforts to revive the school, which was first started in 1742 but existed only intermittently.

Jonathan Arnold, who was Missionary from 1739 to 1743, is chiefly remarkable for his efforts to reach the people on the mainland nearby who were without pastors of any denomination. He told the Society that he preached

⁹"Every fourth Sunday at Newark, and frequent Lectures on Week days, where there is an Encouraging prospect of gathering a Considerable Large Church, the Number of attendants and Communicants being over Doubled within these Twelve Months, Especially from Second River, a Place of Great Note about three Miles from Newark: from where comes Considerable part of the Congregation, some of Which are Persons of ye greatest worth and Distinction of any in These Parts."

⁸B. Vol. 2. No. 168. (*Seabury, Senior, to the Society, 1759.*)

⁹B. Vol. 10. No. 79. (*Arnold to the Society, 1741.*)

His efforts bore such fruit that in 1743 John Schuyler and George Lasting are writing to Vesey on behalf of the inhabitants to inform him that

¹⁰"The Roof of this Church is now raised, the Church is of Hewn Stone and the finest has been seen in These Parts."

and to ask his support in preferring their Petition to the Society for a Missionary of their own, in which they represented that

¹¹"The Reverend Mr. Arnold has faithfully & constantly Discharged the Duty enjoyned by the Society in officiating at the times by them appointed and has perform'd servis several times & preached at Second River at the Desire of the Members there and his Labors by God's Grace have been Successful and the Church Encreased during his ministering as likewise by the Labors of the Revd. Mr. Vaughan who have worke Enough to do in their respective Parishes & can't Possibly attend us as often as the Church Servis requires. Several Proselytes have been added to the Church from Second River new Barbadoes Neck & Acquacknong as well as Dutch as English Dissenters who attend constantly at our Church when Divine Servis is perform'd some of whome live at the Distance of Ten miles from the Church."

Such was the foundation of the parish of Newark.

We have already mentioned Thomas Barclay, the Society's second Missionary to the Mohawks. In 1712 William Andrews arrived to help him in the care of the settlers and garrisons at Albany, Schenectady and Fort Hunter. Andrews remained till 1719 and then the Mission was unfilled till 1728. After that date it was almost constantly supplied with one, sometimes two, Missionaries, but this was by no means a sufficient staff.

Project after project was mooted for a more satisfactory means of reaching the Indians. The most hopeful plan was the training of Indian schoolmasters. John Jacob Oel, one of the Dutch Pastors who were of great help in this Mission, rejoices in a long Latin letter to the Society in 1762 that

¹²"an Indian Youth of sufficient education has been stirred up by Divine Providence in this very camp, who can write and read elegantly the Indian Language and is moved by a great fervour to propagate the doctrine so that already, not long ago, he said to me that he had more than thirty scholars."

¹⁰B. Vol. 12. No. 31. (*Residents to Vesey, 1743.*)

¹¹B. Vol. 12. Nos. 32 and 33. (*Petition to the Society from Newark, 1744.*)

¹²Translation of B. Vol. 3. No. 311. (*Oel to the Society, 1762.*)

The European settlers were very thankful for the Missionaries. Henry Barclay writes in 1739 of

¹³“a small Congregation of Irish People added to my care who are lately settled near Fort Hunter, they seem to be a very sober Industrious People and exceedingly pleased to have me so great a part of the Year amongst them, and unless War break out with France I am very like to have a Considerable Congregation there in a few Years.”

Like the Indians, however, many of the Europeans were nomadic, the second William Andrews writes in 1771:

¹⁴“My Church is particularly more filled in the Winter time, as several of them are Indian Traders or Batteauxmen, who, when the Mohawk River is open, proceed in those kind of Vessels to Fort Detroit & even to Mishillimackamac in Sloops, which is reckon'd upwards of one thousand miles from here.”

As the district became more settled the need for another Missionary became urgent. Sir William Johnston, the Indian Commissioner and a very energetic Colonial Member of the Society, wrote in 1767:

¹⁵“The present state of the Church of England particularly hereabouts, must give concern to all sincere Professors of that Communion and I fear that it has in some degree suffered thro' want of knowledge of this interior part of ye Country. The North, and North-West parts of the Province of New York comprehend an extensive Tract of Country, which in general in point of soil yields to none on the Continent, and is much superior on that head as well as from the Salubrity of ye Air, to the Neighbouring Posts. It commands two important communications, the one by a River and Lakes from Albany Northward to Montreal, the other Westward by the Mohawk River to the five great Lakes, and the interior most valuable parts of the Indian Country, which River is already settled in length above one Hundred Miles West of Albany, with these advantages there can be no doubt of its becoming in a few years a very thickly settled and valuable Country. At present there are good Churches of Stone erected at Albany, Schenectady, my village of Johnstown and that of the Mohawks. . . . The Church which I have at my own expence erected at Johnstown I have already pointed out the necessity of, as well with regard to Indians as Whites, I hope that will be soon settled

¹³B. Vol. 7. No. 139. (*Barclay to the Society, 1739.*)

¹⁴B. Vol. 3. No. 6. (*Andrews to the Society, 1771.*)

¹⁵B. Vol. 2. No. 88. (*Johnston to the Society, 1767.*)

and that the Society will agree to a Schoolmaster there, in which case one shall be procured here."

Actually Johnstown was only supplied from 1771 to 1773. The lower parts of the Hudson Valley were served by itinerant ministers; the Society did not help there for some time. From 1729 to 1733 they had a mission centered at New Windsor, but in 1744 Vesey wrote, introducing a candidate for Holy Orders, Hezekiah Watkins:

¹⁶"his Intention is to settle at a place called the Highlands and to Officiate in two Adjoining Counties called Ulster and Orange, if the Venerable Society shall be pleased to Appoint him thereto. He has Resided there during the last Winter, and read Prayers and Sermons to the People and they seem well Pleased with Each Other. . . . Indeed there was formerly a Mission and Missionary sent by the Society to New Windsor near the Place where this Gentⁿ proposes to settle to which Mr. Charlton first, and afterwards Mr. KillPatrick were Appointed, but being Confined to that Place in which were very few Inhabitants, they could not be Supported, but as Mr. Watkins is to Officiate at three Several Districts in the two Counties, & the Country now settling very fast, I am in hopes that they will Punctually make Good, what they have Engaged. Indeed that Mission would not be agreeable to any Gentⁿ bred at home because the People of New Settlements Generally live very meanly, but Mr. Watkins, having been bred in the Country, I find that Sort of Life will not be Disagreeable to him."

Apropos of that last sentence, you are, I suppose, aware that many of the Society's best Missionaries were "bred in the Country"; indeed, the excellent supply of candidates and the great dangers of their passage home for Ordination were among the chief arguments in their constant appeals for an American Bishop. Vesey's reference to the support of the Mission is also noticeable. The Society could never have given so many grants if it had ever undertaken the whole upkeep of each Mission. It required some effort at self-support, even from such districts as this, as an earnest that there was a sufficient Congregation. Watkins was appointed immediately and served the district for twenty years. His preaching journeys extended as far as Warwick. Towards the end, however, the work became too hard for him, Samuel Auchmuty, Rector of New York, writes in 1765 on behalf of ¹⁷"Cadwallader Golden, Esq.," who ¹⁷"lives at about 90 miles from this City at one Corner of Mr. Watkins Mission," that ¹⁷"an itinerant Missionary in those parts is extremely wanted, as the

¹⁶B. Vol. 13. No. 207. (*Vesey to the Society, 1744.*)

¹⁷B. Vol. 2. No. 14. (*Auchmuty to the Society, 1765.*)

Country settles fast," and ¹⁷"There is no Clergyman of England, except poor Mr. Watkins, whose bad state of Health has rendered him incapable of any Service nearer than 80 miles."

Two years after Watkins' death John Sayre succeeded him in New Windsor (by then called Newburgh).

In 1761 John Beardsley had been appointed an itinerant Missionary in Dutchess County on the other side of the river. In 1765 he settled at Poughkeepsie but continued to serve other townships from there. In 1768 he reported to

¹⁸"the Honourable Society, that through many Difficulties we have at last erected a Church at Fishkill about 15 miles from Poughkeepsie (a principle part of this Mission) and we expect to open it in less than Two months from the date of this. But as the Congregation have exerted themselves exceedingly in promising a glebe and building this Church, if ye Society be so kind as to encourage them with a bible and Common prayer Book it will ever be acknowledged with a becoming gratitude."

I wish I had the time to read you more of these reports, to illustrate the struggles of the scattered congregations, the homely politics of the well settled parishes, but I can only give you some extracts from the last of the letters.

Each of the Society's Missionaries at his Ordination in England had taken the usual oath of allegiance to the King. When the Colonies declared for Independence they found themselves bound to the unpopular side. Many of them had been "bred in the Country," some of them had explained to the Society the just grievances of the Americans, but, like the English Nonjurors in 1688, who can hardly have regretted the absconding James yet refused to have a hand in *our* "Glorious Revolution," they unhesitatingly refused to countenance armed revolt or to cease their "prayers for the King." The War of Independence is vividly reflected in their reports.

New York itself and its immediate neighbourhood were much disturbed by fighting and Seabury from West Chester and Charles Inglis, the Assistant Curate and later Rector of New York, sent detailed accounts of their experiences. Seabury's parish was early the scene of fighting. In 1776 it was occupied by the Congress troops, his Church was closed, and when

¹⁹"At length two Ships of War came into the Sound, & took their Station within Sight of my House. Immediately the

¹⁷B. Vol. 2. No. 14. (*Auchmuty to the Society, 1765.*)

¹⁸B. Vol. 3. No. 26. (*Beardsley to the Society, 1768.*)

¹⁹B. Vol. 2. No. 190. (*Seabury to the Society, 1776.*)

whole Coast was guarded, that no one might go to them. Within a few Days the Troops landed on Long Island, & the Rebels were defeated. A Body of them then took Post at the Heights near Kingsbridge, in my Parish & began to throw up works. Another Body fixed themselves within two Miles of my House."

After a period in hiding he escaped to the Royal Army and when they advanced

¹⁹"as I was perfectly acquainted with the Country about West Chester, I have Reason to believe that the Accounts I gave to General Clinton were of real service to the Army."

Meanwhile, New York city was captured and re-captured, and after its re-occupation by the Royalists, Inglis writes:

²⁰"Early on Monday Morning the 16th I returned to the City which exhibited a most melancholly appearance being deserted and pillaged."

The retreating army had

²⁰"carried off all the Bells in the City—partly to convert them into Cannon—partly to prevent notice being given speedily of the Destruction they meditated against the City by Fire, when it began. . . . Several Rebels secreted themselves in the Houses to execute the diabolical purpose of destroying the City. On the Saturday following an opportunity presented itself; for the weather being very dry and the wind blowing fresh, they set fire to the City in several places at the same Time, between 12 & 1 o'clock in the morning. The Fire raged with the utmost Fury, & its destructive Progress consumed about one thousand Houses, or a fourth part of the whole City."

He laments Trinity Church,

²⁰"a venerable Edifice, had an excellent Organ which cost £850 Sterl: and was otherwise ornamented."

and besides the Church itself

²⁰"the Rector's House & the Charity School, the two latter large expensive Buildings were burned."

¹⁹B. Vol. 2. No. 190. (*Seabury to the Society, 1776.*)

²⁰B. Vol. 2. No. 72. (*Inglis to the Society, 1776.*)

Moreover,

²⁰“St. Paul’s Church & King’s College had shared the same Fate, being directly in the line of Fire, had I not been providentially on the Spot, & sent a number of people with water on the Roof of each. Our Houses are all covered with Cedar Shingles, which makes Fire very dangerous.”

Long Island and Staten Island usually enjoyed greater security. The latter seems very aloof in 1775 when Charlton writes:

²¹“I am happy in acquainting you that in the midst of tumult, confusion, I may add distraction, that the people of this Island have hitherto lived in a peaceable and tranquil State, having no connection with congresses or committees; and tho’ a few Republican malevolent Spirits made a late attempt to have deputies appointed, in order to join with others in the choice of delegate to be sent to the ensuing Congress next month: yet upon the 11th instant when the main body of the County met to take the Sentiments of the people when the Loyalists filed off to the right, and they, who had an inclination to chuse deputies, were desired to sheer off to the left, *not one Goat appeared.*”

Though Jamaica was less fortunate when Joshua Bloomer reported

²²“Last week, a Number of Troops by order of the Continental Congress Disarmed this Township & Hempstead & carried off about Twenty of the Principal Persons of Mr. Cutings & my congregations, prisoners to Philadelphia, they being accused of opposing the present measures.”

Occupation by the Royalists was in itself no unmixed blessing. Charlton’s glebe was apparently a strategic position. Already, during the French war in 1761, he had had cause to represent to General Amherst that

²³“The Encampment of his Majesty’s Troops under your Excellency’s command upon Ducksbury Glebe is very detrimental to yr Petitioner.”

and then it had been three years before he could write:

²⁴“I thank God I can now inform the Hon^{ble} Society that Ducksbury Glebe is inclosed.”

²⁰B. Vol. 2. No. 72. (*Inglis to the Society, 1776.*)

²¹B. Vol. 3. No. 97. (*Charlton to the Society, 1775.*)

²²B. Vol. 3. No. 127. (*Bloomer to the Society, 1776.*)

²³B. Vol. 3. No. 66. (*Charlton’s copy of his Petition to General Amhurst, 1761.*)

²⁴B. Vol. 3. No. 75. (*Charlton to the Society, 1764.*)

now in 1776 he writes that the English troops keep them safe, but adds:

²⁵"I submit with patience to the Calamities, the necessary attendants of especially a Civil War. Poor Ducksbury Glebe is laid waste."

The Missionaries on the Hudson valley found difficulty in communicating at all with the Society. There are many gaps in their correspondence, many duplicates sent lest the first copy should not arrive. In 1776 Beardsley of Poughkeepsie reported:

²⁶"since last July our Churches in dutches county have been shut, many of my brethren in exile; and the Escape I have made is at the hazard of whatever property I left."

Stuart at the Mohawks Mission was not heard of from 1775 to 1781, when he wrote from Montreal that

²⁷"At the Commencement of the unhappy contest betwixt Great Britain and her Colonies I acquainted the Society of the firm Resolve I had on your Fidelity, and Loyalty of my Congregation; which has justified my Opinion. For the faithful Mohawks rather than swerve from their Allegiance chuse rather to abandon their Dwellings and Property & accordingly went in a Body to Genl. Burgoyne & afterwards were obliged to shelter in Canada, while they remained at Fort Hunter I continued to officiate as usual."

But after they had left, his Church had been closed and he had been on parole in Schenectady till he was allowed to cross into Canada.

New York became a refuge for the Missionaries driven out of New England and the Jerseys. Inglis writes of their condition in general:

²⁸"The Missionaries & other Refugee Clergymen who have taken Sancturary here, have their Difficulties. All of them have had Chaplaincies assigned to them except Mr. Leaming of Norwalk, Mr. Sayre of Fairfield, Mr. Greaves of New London, Mr. James Sayre of this Province & Mr. Duncan."

They did their best to serve those parishes they could reach. Walters (a member of the Society) writes, quite typically:

²⁹"It is now more than two years that I have resided in this

²⁵B. Vol. 3. No. 101. (*Charlton to the Society, 1776.*)

²⁶B. Vol. 3. No. 39. (*Beardsley to the Society, 1776.*)

²⁷B. Vol. 2. No. 204. (*Stuart to the Society, 1781.*)

²⁸B. Vol. 2. No. 72. (*Inglis to the Society, 1779.*)

²⁹B. Vol. 3. No. 346. (*Walters to the Society, 1778.*)

City & neighbourhood. The first summer was spent in Brooklin where I occasionally officiated to a small congregation of English who obtained for this purpose an order from the Commandant at New York to make use of the Dutch Church whenever the Dutch People had no service in it themselves which was as often as three Sundays in five. This Summer the Rev. Mr. Sears has officiated there in the same manner & still continues to do so. Next I shall probably reside far down upon Long Island, & then I propose to be a frequent visitant to the Society's vacant Mission of Huntingdon, and the people of that neighbourhood who are at present totally destitute of all publick worship."

Refugee Schoolmasters also were eager to teach wherever they could. While in 1779 Inglis writes that the Charity School in the City

³⁰"is in a very flourishing Way . . . the Children are very regular, & make surprising Progress in their Learning."

adding that

³⁰"Mr. Bull regularly Catechises the Negroes on Sunday after the Evening Service; and the Rev. Mr. Walters, a worthy Clergyman from Boston generally gives them a Lecture, or Sermon at the same Time."

When peace was signed and the Independence of the States accepted by Great Britain, a definition of the Missionaries' position became necessary. John Sayre wrote from New York:

³¹"Such of the Clergy as are in the service of the Society will naturally look up to them for advice, under such new & difficult circumstances. For my own part, I am clearly of opinion that the Country Congregations in most parts of North America will be unable to support Ministers without assistance from the Society; and that will probably need to be larger than heretofore in many Missions."

Others wondered if a Bishopric could now by any means be established.

Through the years of uncertainty immediately after the peace the Society did continue to pay their own Missionaries. But Parliament, which had consistently thwarted all their efforts for an American Bishopric, stood in the way of their giving any help to Seabury. Soon after his Consecration and return to America they felt themselves, after "most serious Consideration," forced to hold that they were

³⁰B. Vol. 2. No. 72. (*Inglis to the Society, 1779.*)

³¹B. Vol. 3. No. 359. (*Sayre to the Society, 1782.*)

³²“obliged, by their Charter, to apply the subscription and other contributions by them received *to the Propagation of the Gospel in Fõreign Parts, under the Dominion of the Crown of Great Britain*, and being accountable for such application, (they were bound to give account to the Lord Chancellor) they regret the unhappy events which confine their labors to the Colonies remaining under His Majesty’s sovereignty. It is so far from their thoughts to alienate their affections from their brethren of the Church of England, now under another Government, that they look back with comfort at the good they have done for many years past, in propagating our holy religion, as it is professed by the established Church of England; and it is their earnest wish and prayer, that their zeal may continue to bring forth the fruit they aimed at, of pure religion and virtue; and that the true members of our Church, under whatever civil government they live, may not cease to be kindly affectioned towards us.”

³²*Society’s Resolution quoted from the Society’s Annual Report, 1786.*

II.

NEW JERSEY

I OWE it both to you, Ladies and Gentlemen, and to myself, to explain exactly the purport of my lecture; for the double honour bestowed upon me lays upon me a double duty. I have the great honour of sharing in your hospitality on this notable occasion in the history of New Jersey diocese: and the honour, which I can scarcely call less great, of representing the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the link that draws us together today. To both my intent must be made perfectly plain. It may well be that you expect from me an exposition of history far more precise, reasoned and weighty than I am able to give you; while for my part I must freely state that none can be more conscious than myself of the deficiencies of the following pages.

At Westminster we have been working, as it were, at the blind end of a bridge, unaware of what lay on the further side: we know that you have great stores of local history, we know too that they have been worked on with industry and ability by your historians both local and national: what we do not know is the extent of those stores, nor of that detailed research. Things plain and understandable on this side of the Atlantic are obscure and indefinite in the muniment room of Tufton Street; chronological, autobiographical, but above all geographical minutiae perpetually hold up the telling of the simplest tale, and we know that we must frequently have fallen into errors palpably absurd to those who dwell on the spot. For these mistakes I beg your lenient judgment.

On the other hand, you may be unaware of the conditions in which we work. For many reasons, in which finance bulks largely, it is only within the last two years that the archives of the S. P. G. have begun to receive attention and care; for years they have lain almost undisturbed in the strong-room of the Society, their contents a mystery, their value unexplored. The matter has now been put upon a sound and sure footing; a splendid archive room has been equipped through the generosity of the Pilgrim Trust, funds and workers assured to a limited extent and for a limited period. But the field is vast: some one hundred and sixty thousand documents there await, in lesser or greater degree, identification, classification, indexing, cataloguing and study. The American manuscripts,

precious though they be, are only a fraction of the whole, which covers every country in the British Empire, and many outside it. Work on those manuscripts, in preparation for my visit to you, though proceeding with enthusiasm and haste, has necessarily extended over a very few months and been subject to interruption. It has been carried out mainly by workers who make no claim to specialized historical scholarship. Far from exhausting the possibilities of the papers, we only begin to appreciate the richness of their range.

It is possible and probable, that here in New Jersey you, through study of the copies in the Library of Congress, know much more than we know of the light reflected by our papers on your local history during colonial days. You no doubt possess valuable stores of archives that corroborate, amplify or correct the information there contained. With such knowledge I have neither the wish nor the ability to compete. My sole aim can be put with the utmost simplicity. It is to present an account plain and admittedly superficial of the rise and progress of certain of the colonial parishes of this pleasant province from the date of the incorporation of the Society in 1701 until the War of Independence put an end to that era of co-operation, as far as that history can be reconstructed from the Society's archives. It is on those archives alone that these notes are based. We have been careful to consult no outside sources of any kind, to attempt no writing of history; well-known events, outstanding personalities have been ignored, in favour of the little-known, the humble, the obscure. The single and only source of the information presented in these pages is the documents in the Society's muniment room. Such American documents fall into four groups: the "A" manuscripts, which are contemporary copies of letters received, of which the originals may or may not be in existence; the "B" manuscripts, original letters received, the twenty-five volumes of which have been copied by the Library of Congress; the Journal (or Minutes of the Proceedings of the Society); the annual Reports.

May I be allowed to repeat that every aspect and implication of these papers has of set purpose been passed over in this sketch; it is solely a survey of historical facts. If these facts are familiar to you, I must deplore my lack of originality while venturing the reminder that familiarity cannot detract from truth! I encourage myself with the hope that at least this recital may cause some who hear it to take up again the study of the sources of your parochial history in the libraries with which you are magnificently endowed, and to which we are proud to have contributed some of the unique treasures of the S. P. G.

The study of the development of colonial parishes from the sources

available at Tufton Street is a complex matter—complex for reasons residing not merely in the nature of the material but in the actual course of events in the colonies. The limits of parishes were often indefinite; there were far more parishes than clergy, or perhaps (more accurately) there were far more congregations than there were clergy to minister in them, or far more places where churches were struggling to grow than were supplied by the missionaries from England. As a result, a parish well-served with what seemed a progressive church life, might at the death of its missionary be left for years without a successor to him and relapse at length into a state of confusion and neglect as great as in its early years. Or two places hitherto combined in one mission, might for a variety of reasons split apart and a new series of combinations be set up which grievously perplex the later chroniclers: Amboy, Piscataway, New Brunswick, Elizabethtown, present to the uninitiated relationships as involved as any of those established or re-established in Europe by post-war pacts and treaties. It is impossible to determine the precise date of the foundation of many of the parishes. Churches built by the first generations of settlers fell to ruin, or population shifted, or church life was merged in dissent, or services were suspended for years. This confusion finds its counterpart in the manuscripts of the Society; the preservation of letters was, broadly speaking, haphazard; connected series are interspersed by stray letters from other correspondents, or cease abruptly for no apparent reason; much may have been lost at sea; much by careless handling at the English end (for the science of archives was unknown to the eighteenth century!); some by chance methods of binding in the nineteenth. Hence an account of almost any one colonial parish must contain gaps which patient research may hope to fill in part, but never in full.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel took up its work in New Jersey, as in the other established colonies, in 1702 and remained there till 1785. The number of missionaries sent by it to the province was forty-four. The money disbursed by the Society in the first seventy-five years of its existence amounted to a quarter of a million pounds; it was a considerable sum when measured in terms of contemporary value and population, and America received all but a fraction of it. Much care was taken to sift the sheep from the goats among those who applied for missionary appointments; the poverty of the lower clergy in England was so great and their social position so degraded that naturally some were candidates whose only motive was an ardent desire to escape from existing conditions. But such had no hope of acceptance. Testimonials and a personal attendance on the Board were essential preliminaries: the candidate

was put through a careful examination and the final test of preaching a sermon. The Society set itself the aim that

Such as go over into those parts for the propagation of the Gospel, should be men of solidity and good experience, as well as otherwise qualified with good learning and good natural parts, and especially exemplary in piety, and of a discreet zeal, humble and meek, able to endure the toil and fatigue they must expect to go through, both in mind and body, not raw young men, nor yet very old.

The selected candidate was provided with the Bishop of London's bounty, namely fifty pounds for traveling expenses, and fifteen pounds was paid out to furnish a library for each new mission. The amount of his salary depended on local conditions and the ability of his parishioners to contribute to his support; thirty pounds, or even seventy, a year might be the Society's subsidy, though the usual figure for a missionary was fifty pounds, for a catechist ten, for a lay schoolmaster twenty or thirty. Small as these sums appear, they often formed the missionary's sole support: the expenses of the voyage, especially in the case of men with families, frequently outran the allowance so that he arrived in America penniless or already in debt; local contributions were often precarious both in amount and in punctuality, for they fluctuated according to the prosperity of the inhabitants or the value of local currency or the personal popularity of the clergyman. Penury was the frequent lot of the missionary, distressing indigence that of his widow and children. Financial difficulties present the one constant element in the correspondence of its agents with the Society; references to the bills by which salaries were paid occur in almost every letter. The value of the annual grant, payable in sterling, cannot be exaggerated, either to the individual or to the cause of the Episcopal Church in general; because of it the Committee of your Sesquicennial Celebration is able to print in its "Historical Sketch" words which we gratefully acknowledge—

The Church in New Jersey owes its existence and extension mainly if not exclusively to the initiative taken by the S. P. G.

New Jersey made its first appearance in the records of the Society in the annual Report of 1703/4. In New Jersey, East and West (the statement runs),

Here is no church or School establish'd by Act of Assembly, either in the Eight English Towns, or Two Dutch: But a considerable number of People that were Quakers etc: are

in a good Disposition to join in Communion with the Church of England Ministry.

Demands were made for ministers, schools, libraries. One minister was needed at

the Falls in Shrewsbury, where Colonel Morris is building a Church and will endow it.

One at Amboy, where they are building another Church.

One at Hopewell, where they are building another.

One in Monmouth County.

One for St. Mary's at Burlington, with some utensils for the Church.

One for Croswicks.

Statements of varying detail but similar substance recur for many years. In the following year it ran as above, with the addition

particularly in the East part, and County of Monmouth, where are 4 Congregations gather'd.

The Society's information as to conditions in these "plantations" was mainly drawn from the reports of two men who need no introduction to a New Jersey audience, George Keith and John Talbot. Their names shine as stars in the New Jersey skies, for on their zeal, perseverance, devotion, diligence and unceasing toil were laid the foundations of the Church. Keith was Scotsman born, Presbyterian bred; he became a Quaker and travelled extensively in New Jersey and Pennsylvania in the last decade of the seventeenth century. Returning to England in 1694, and receiving Holy Orders in the Church in 1700, he was singularly fitted to become the first missionary of the Society to whose service he was admitted in February, 1702, and in which he remained "two years and twenty weeks." John Talbot, who was already acquainted with America and was chaplain of the "Centurion" in which Keith returned to America, was inspired by the older man's enthusiasm; on reaching America he left the ship and threw in his lot with Keith, entering thus the Society's employ and taking the first step in the dedication of his life to the service of the colony. Bound by an affection as of father and son, they set out on a missionary tour

through 9 or 10 Provinces between New England and North Carolina

which is fully described in the Journal published by Keith on his return to England. We will rather draw for information upon the

private letters of Keith and Talbot, to the Society or to other correspondents. They reached New Jersey in October, 1702. In the following year Keith wrote to the Bishop of London:

The main thing of importance I have att present to write to you here, is to tell you of the extreme desire that people have in several parts where we have travelld to have Church of England Ministers sent to them, particularly in East Jersey, att Amboy, and in the Woods, about where Colonel Morris lives, and att Burlington in West Jersey. . . .

My Lord, there is an exceeding great desire in diverse places that your Ldship w^d send over pious and able Ministers to them, both in Long Island, E. Jersey and W. Jersey and allso in diverse places. . . .

Colonel Morris, Governor of East Jersey, sent more than one exhaustive account of the province to corroborate and support Keith. "We want," he said,

A supply of Missionaries, and if I might advise they should not be young Men but Pious, whose Gravity as well as Argument should persuade. This is a Country in which a very nice Conduct is necessary, and Requires men of years and Experience to manage; in New Jersey 3 or 4 Missionaries would do great Service, one at Burlington, one at Amboy, one in the County of Monmouth where Mr. Keith has taken much Pains, and the Labours of Mr. Innis a Non-juror has gather'd a Large Congregation in which there are about 20 Communicants and very often 200 or More Auditors. . . . there are 3 or 4 Dutch Towns in Jersey who are under the Direction of the Dutch Minister of N. York.

The Churchmen among the settlers were themselves full of zeal; greatly encouraged by the presence of the English missionaries and by the formation of the Society they set enthusiastically about the building of churches, despite scanty means and materials, in hopes of a speedy supply of clergymen. They were supported by Talbot, who was able to report in 1703:

Here are four or five (Churches) going forward now in this Province and the next. That att Burlington is almost finished.

A still more powerful ally was Governor Nicholson, to whose memory a sincere tribute must be paid wherever the early history of this church is discussed. "America has not his like," declared Talbot, and Keith wrote:

In all these new erectings of Churches, in these Northern Parts Governor Nicholson has largely contributed and is a Mighty promoter and encourager of them by his Letters and Advice as well as his Purse, as not only att Boston (etc.) . . . but att Burlington in West Jersey.

The promise of these early years was fulfilled only in part. A supply of missionaries was slow in forthcoming, for everywhere the need was desperate, and New Jersey was only one out of a dozen provinces with whose needs the infant Society had to grapple, while it was engaged at the same time in arousing the conscience of churchmen in England. Talbot, stationed at Burlington now the tour was over, and bereft of the counsel and help of Keith, who had returned to England, found himself almost single-handed with "the care of all the Jerseys" heavy upon him. Owing to political intrigue or financial hardship, other clergymen had betaken themselves to Maryland and elsewhere. The Bishop of London, whose jurisdiction since the time of Charles I had been extended to cover the colonial churches, brought this fact to the notice of the Society:

there is likely to be a very great desertion in those parts unless speedy care be taken to prevent it:

but he realized the double aspect of the case, that sections of the colonists themselves were ready to go to any length to prevent the establishment of a state church;

As to the Establishment in the Jerseys, you know what Establishment or rather none at all, is there for the Churches; at least so precarious at present, till those wild people are a little better settled in their minds, that they are by no means to be prest to any such thing, without running the hazard of quite loosing them.

Establishment was not a question of practical politics: a supply of missionaries was; it filled the minds of men on the spot. Bass, secretary of the province, writing in 1709 from Burlington, spoke of

these dark Corners of the Earth . . . Hopewell, Amboy, Elizabeth Town in New Jersey are all left as Sheep without a Shepherd none of the Missionarys remaining in this Province but the Rev. and Worthy Mr. Talbot.

Talbot himself felt that a task beyond even his powers was laid upon him; though good results sprang from his preaching he was forced constantly to itinerate and could linger in none of the places whose need was sore. He cried:

We Christians in Jersey are most miserable, we have Churches now but no Ministers to open them:

and complained bitterly that if he had known "neither Bishop, Priest, nor Deacon, Lecturer nor Catechist" was to be sent,

I would never have put the people in these parts to the charge and trouble of building churches; nay, now they must be stalls or stables for Quakers horses when they come to market or meeting.

Lack of missionaries, lack of schoolmasters, lack of money, lack of books—this is the unceasing burden of the letters, driven home by language direct, passionate and unfaltering.

It had been better not to have put those poor people to the Charge of building Churches than have nobody to supply them, I can't get so much as a Reader here for any of them and it wear to save their Souls. You that live at home at safe and plenty, little do you know what they and we do bear and suffer here, and how many thousand Souls are legally lost whilst they at home are legally supplying them.

Equally convincing in tenor if less literary in expression were the appeals that reached the London committee from the forlorn congregations themselves. An example from Salem must stand for many:

. . . our Indigence is excessive, and our Destitution deplorable, having never been so bless'd, as to have a Person settled among us, to dispence the August ordinances of Religion; insomuch that even the name of it is almost lost among us; the Virtue and energy of it over Men's Lives, almost expiring, we won't say forgotten, for that implies previous knowledge of it . . . Our condicon is truly lamentable, and deserving Christian Compassion. And to whom can we apply ourselves, but to that Venerable Corporation, whose Zeal . . . hath preserved so many in these Colonys . . . ?

Step by step for three generations these wants were gradually supplied. There were never enough missionaries, there were never sufficient funds: for one vacancy supplied, two, three or four fresh districts needed help, for it was beyond the power of a human agency to keep pace with the flooding-in of new settlers, with the unexampled growth of the country. But in hardship, toil, discouragement, anxiety, the foundations of church life were gradually laid: parochial life assumed a more or less constant aspect in old-established centres;

traditions of church-going were formed, the Sacraments were administered, children were catechised, churches were built.

Why, it may be wondered, was the growth not quicker, the progress surer? Many factors contributed to the apparent instability of church life. The country was new, the people poor: each man had only his own hands to rely on for bread for himself and his dependents, preoccupations with daily labour were intense, the future of the individual always uncertain. The political skies were not much clearer: internal politics were at the mercy of faction, while wars or threats of wars brought frequent financial stress. Leisure was scanty, books were dear and hard to come by, centers of culture as of church life, were few. Among a minority an interest in religion never flagged; and the existence of numberless sects professing doctrines new or old made controversy perpetual, keen and often bitter, and religion often a matter exclusively argumentative. Partisan feeling was never absent from parish life. Moreover, in the age of commonsense, of moderation, of reasonableness, churchmanship was distinguished by conduct and works rather than by special sanctity, and a church whose organization was synonymous with State establishment met with suspicion both temperamental and political. The English missionary took with him English traditions, English loyalties, an English outlook; increasingly as the century wore on these bore a somewhat alien aspect.

One hindrance above all others to the growth of church life, though too widely known to be here discussed, must be touched on. The lack of a bishop was an almost fatal obstacle. The Bishop of London, however conscientious, could exercise nothing but an empty supervision. Throughout the eighteenth century an unceasing cry was raised by the Society, by its agents in America, by colonial churchmen, by leaders of the church in England, for a bishop for America. Why that cry was never answered is not a subject for this sketch, though it may be remembered that whig influence, supported by dissent, opposed the scheme. Arguments in its favour were overwhelming. Was there ever before in Christian history, it was asked, an episcopal church without a bishop? Or a bishop at one end of the world with his diocese at another? Without a head to exercise discipline, check abuses, encourage, organize, advise, to perform the episcopal functions of confirmation and ordination, it was impossible for the colonial church to maintain a seemly, ordered and progressive life, an adequate supply of clergy. No man American-born could enter its service save by crossing the Atlantic for ordination, a voyage which entailed tremendous risk to life and health and expense which few could afford. Lacking a leader, the missionaries found it hard to

take corporate action; their voice was the voice of personal authority only, and should scandal arise concerning any, little could be done except report it to Fulham or to the S. P. G. These difficulties never pressed more hardly than at the beginning of the century. We turn to the correspondence of Talbot, whose passionate conviction of the necessity for a bishop in America, eventually led, it was said, all other means having failed, to his accepting consecration himself at the hands of non-juring bishops in England in 1722. If he took such a step it was only as a last desperate measure. Throughout his long mission, in season and out of season, he never ceased to employ his pen fearlessly in the cause which he had pleaded in person to the authorities in England in 1705 after a voyage undertaken for that sole purpose. His letters showed qualities truly apostolic in their passion, inspiration and leadership.

Is it not strange (he wrote) that so many Islands should be inhabited with Protestants, so many provinces planted by them, so many hundred thousand Souls born and bred up here in America, but of all the Kings, princes and Governors all the Bishops and Archbishops that have been since the Reformation they never sent anybody here to propagate the Gospel. I say to propagate it by imparting some spiritual Gift by Ordination and Confirmation.

Again

I reflect on the Progress of the Gospel (I will not say the Church for we never had it here, nor never shall till there come over a Propagator to plant and to build it up)

and again in the same year, 1709,

I cou'd have hindred all the rest of these Scandals and Disorders but that we had *no Bishop* nor hopes of any, you would not hear of it, therefore I said you must hear worse and worse still if ought can be worse than that the Bodies and Souls of men are min'd and undone and the Bounty of the Society lost but for lack of an Overseer of the poor Church in America, without which the Gospel can't be planted nor any good work propagated in the World.

Prospects of the fulfillment of the project were at one time sufficiently hopeful for him to

have got possession of the best House in America for a Bishop's Seat

—that house in Burlington which was destined to have no more

exalted inmates than ordinary missionaries, to more than one of whom it proved a veritable impediment, which was at last burnt to the ground, and the site of which remained a lively topic in the correspondence of Jonathan Odell right up to the Revolution.

Talbot may have thought that he and his fellow-missionaries were fighting in the cause single-handed; but such was not the case. The matter was laid before Queen Anne by the Society and its presiding Archbishop in 1707 and 1710, but the Queen's death altered the situation adversely. In 1716 Talbot wrote—

We have been here these twenty years calling till our hearts ache, and ye own 'tis the call and cause of God and yet ye have not heard, or have not answered.

Had his life been extended beyond the normal span, he would have found that twenty years was but a short space in the life of this controversy. Petition after petition was presented by the American clergy or by English bishops: in 1750 a plan was drawn up by Bishop Butler: Bishop Secker of Oxford wrote to Walpole in 1751 on the subject, in 1764 to Dr. Johnson. When the war broke out he stated

We may reasonably hope that our governors will be taught, by experience, to have some regard to the Church of England in America.

But the time was past. It is because the rulers of England let slip their opportunity, because they paid dearly for that and for other mistakes, that we are met now to celebrate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the American Episcopal Church.

It is not possible to consider here minutely the course of the history of the Church in New Jersey in the middle of the eighteenth century. Details of the progress of some of the colonial parishes, so far as they can be traced in the archives of the S. P. G. are embodied in the accompanying notes. Eight such missions were founded by the end of the first decade of the century; one, it appears, in the second decade (but to this church under the name of S. Andrew's, Lambertville, no reference has been found; no doubt we are geographically astray); one in the third decade; two in the fourth; three in the fifth; one in the sixth; the remaining three by 1770. Three of these churches now belong to the diocese of Newark. The position of the Church was greatly strengthened by the fact that a certain proportion of the later missionaries were American born and educated; these included the outstanding names of Seabury, Chandler, Beach, Odell. The copious correspondence of this period bears witness to faithful routine work, to preachings, baptisms, catechisings; negro slaves were not

forgotten nor the claims of education nor the duty of upholding the doctrines of the church against Quakers and other dissenting bodies. Whitefield blazed across the province raising clouds of "enthusiasm" to the great discomfort of the missionaries, and (though out of date) we may perhaps here note that at the end of the colonial period, as if there were not already perplexities enough, . . .

Mr. Westley hath taken advantage of our Embarrasments, and sent over a Dr. Coke, with the Title of *Superintendent*, with Authority *from him*, to ordain Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. He hath already ordained a number of Methodist Teachers, who have formed a separate Communion in New York, and in *other Places*. His Design, evidently, is to *draw off* the Members of our Church in her present helpless Condition; he hath not hitherto been *very successful*; but should we be much longer neglected, his Purposes, in all human Probability will be answered.

In the thirties and forties New Jersey enjoyed a tranquillity not shared by frontier States; in the annual Report, therefore, conditions there were covered by statements such as appeared in 1746:

their worthy missionaries labour very successfully to promote Virtue and Piety in their several Stations.

The case was altered in the fifties, when the war with France led to the pressure of taxation and general unrest. In 1757

The Letters from the Missionaries in this Colony complain much of the Difficulties and Distress which they labour under through the Calamities of the present Times; but they perceive this Good arising from them, that it makes Men more serious, and more frequent in their Attendance on the publick Duties of Religion.

But the following year the vestry of New Brunswick reported that

it is with great Pleasure they see the Church of England, by the Benevolence of the Society, and the prudent Choice they make of discreet Men, raising its Head in an infant Country.

With deeper insight and in much more threatening circumstances Chandler wrote in 1771,

were it not for the Society's Bounty or without some equivalent assistance there would soon be a general failure of clergymen for want of necessary support and the Church would be born down by the united efforts of its enemies. The pre-

vention of such a catastrophe is of inconceivable importance in a national view to say nothing of effects that are purely religious.

But in 1775 he could still say:

The Church in this Province makes a more respectable appearance than it ever did, till very lately: Thanks to the Venerable Society without whose charitable Interposition there would not have been one episcopal Congregation among us. They have now no less than *Eleven* Missionaries in this District; none of whom are blameable in their Conduct, and some of them are eminently useful. Instead of the small Buildings, out of repair, in which our congregations used to assemble 20 years ago, we have now several that make a handsome Appearance, both for size and decent Ornament, particularly at Burlington, Shrewsbury, New Brunswick and Newark: and all the rest are in good Repair: And the Congregations in general appear to me to be as much improved, as the Churches they assemble in.

This letter must have been one of the last to bring any comfort to the heart of the committee in London. For the very next year they were forced to record that they

are made acquainted from their Missionaries, that the preceeding year has been very unfavourable to the purposes of religion and peace;

and by 1777:

In the present deplorable State of our Plantations, little or no Correspondence hath subsisted between the Society and it's missionaries. In some provinces, their churches are shut up, the pastors imprisoned, or driven from their flocks to places of greater security. Letters from the other provinces have mis-carried and the greatest part of those few, that have reached the Society, for obvious reasons contain little more than the number of births and burials.

It is hard to conceive of the despairing consternation with which the gradual realization of the full fury, bitterness and extent of the revolutionary outbreak must have filled the missionaries. The foundations of their life were cast down. Not in one aspect only were they at variance with the colonists; nearly every principle which held their world together was ridiculed and contemptuously discarded before their eyes. They were, for the most part, English: and England was the abhorred oppressor. Loyalty to King was as imperative a sacred duty as loyalty to God; it was one of the pillars

of their churchmanship: George III was a tyrant whose name they were forbidden to utter. Obedience to authority was an ingrained clerical obligation: authority was scouted, the people constituted themselves the only source of law. Peace and goodwill were the basis of their Christian message: men's hearts were full of hate and strife. Their concern was not with politics: yet politics obliterated all other distinctions. Home and livelihood were swept away, families were left without support: even this was not the worst. The very fabric of their thought was torn. God was the almighty Benefactor, all His works were good, order was the proof of His existence, progress His universal fiat. If beneficence, goodness, ordered progress vanished from the earth, what was left? The stricken missionary found an answer difficult.

I am thrown out of my Bias (wrote Samuel Cooke) and almost rendered unfit for anything unless it is ruminate on the Distresses of this once happy Country.

At this juncture above all others the missionaries needed the advice and control of a bishop. Without it they were at a loss. Each was isolated in his own parish; correspondence with other missionaries was hazardous, frequently impossible. Urgent appeals were sent to the Society for its instructions in the crisis but brought small comfort, for the Society had naturally but a confused notion of events and distance and delay would in any case have invalidated whatever counsel they might have (but, in fact, did not) offer. The missionaries had to steer their own course. It was then that their quality became apparent. Like Jonathan Odell, they wished to avoid all public controversy, to carry out faithfully the duties of their missions and not overstep the bounds of clerical duty. But if as early as 1766 Chandler had found that

The duty of a Missionary in this Country is now become more difficult than ever. It is hard to dissemble any Truths or Precepts of the Gospel; and some of them, relating to Civil Society, it is now become dangerous to declare.

—by 1776 it was tangled almost past hope. But one point was clear. The clergy's oath of allegiance was a pledge which they could not break; loyalty to the Crown was imperative on conscience. When ordered to omit the State prayers, therefore, they refused to tamper with the liturgy and preferred rather to close their churches. The position was explained by Abraham Beach in 1777:

whenever it could be done with any Prospect of success, I

endeavoured to convince my Countrymen that under God their safety and happiness depended on a peaceable orderly Submission to that Government, which, from their first Emigration, had cherished and protected them; and under which they had so long flourished. But after the Congress had declared themselves independent, it was no longer in my Power to say any thing on that Subject. I was determined however still to continue the Service according to the Liturgy, unless prevented by the People. And accordingly, on the Sunday after the Declaration of Independence, I went to my Church at Piscataqua, and was called out of the Reading-Desk by a man who came from the Chairman of the Committee to acquaint me that if I should presume to pray for the King, Imprisonment and Destruction of Property would be the immediate Consequence.

I thought it could answer no good Purpose to expose myself to such Treatment—nor could I so far forget the Declaration I had subscribed before the Bishop, at my Ordination, or offer such an Indignity to my Sovereign, as to omit the Part of the Service they desired. ‘

Accordingly, he shut up his churches from July 7th to December 8th, when the arrival of the King's troops enabled him to re-open them, but even then his position was “truly distressing”; his cattle, horses and sheep were driven off, his house fired on. For six years he was unable to consult his brethren, most of whom had gone to New York; in June, 1777, his churches were again closed.

In this destitute Condition I have had only my own Judgment to direct me, amidst the Difficulties with which I have been surrounded: always maintaining an invariable Resolution never to deviate from my Duty as a good Subject, a good Christian, and a Minister of the Gospel.

His perplexity finally resolved itself to the conclusion that the intentions of the Society could not be answered while churches were shut; he therefore opened them on Christmas Day, 1781, and brought himself to omit the state prayers;

And although my Feelings were hurt by being obliged to make the Omissions required, yet I have Reason to hope, that the Cause of true Religion may be promoted by it, and the Church kept from sinking *altogether*.

The case of Abraham Beach has been followed in detail because his indomitable courage, his American birth, his persistence in remaining at his post make it especially valuable. It is not possible to follow the course of each individual, their adventures are familiar and stirring episodes of the war. Odell's parish was fired on by “five

Gondolas, lying in the River" and he was forced "to ramble as a Refugee God knows when to return." Preston of Amboy, twice forced to hide in the country, at length found his mission "quite broken up" and to avoid imprisonment rejoined his old regiment, the 26th, as chaplain. Isaac Browne of Newark, oppressed in body and mind, was

obliged to fly to New York with such precipitation, on the approach of the Rebels to Newark after the King's troops had left it, that he was able only to take off with him his infirm wife, leaving the rest of the family, together with his furniture and other effects as a prey to his enemies.

The shores of Nova Scotia gave a final harsh refuge to these exiles, who were both over seventy years of age. Samuel Cooke, returning in 1777 from leave in England, found the state of the country too dreadful to allow him to reach his mission or family at Newark; five years later he was still separated from them, filled with "melancholy Reflexions" on the happiness he had once enjoyed there. The date of other missionaries varied little;

Mr. Ogden early was compelled to fly from Sussex. . . .
Mr. Panton (was) forced to fly for it, when the King's Army evacuated . . . Trenton.

It might well have been thought that the injuries received by the Episcopal Church were too deep to admit of recovery.

Yet the same events that shook the Church to its center gave it power to rise to a new life. Freedom was essential for its continued existence; that freedom came with the disappearance of the bonds that had linked the American Church to the state establishment of England. American churchmen at once set to work to secure for themselves bishops. There is no need to enter into the complex negotiations by which this privilege was secured, nor to recall to mind the famous scene in the small chapel at Aberdeen when on Sunday, 14th November, 1784, Seabury was consecrated the first bishop of the American Episcopal Church, nor that other scene at Lambeth when in 1787 complete unity with the Anglican Church was restored by the consecration at the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury of the first bishops of Pennsylvania and New York. The burning desire of Talbot, alight in churchmen throughout the century, was fulfilled at its end.

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries have borne full testimony to the mutual esteem of your Church and our Society. From 1785, when the first General Convocation of the American Church was held,

until today, the Church has never ceased to pay its "just acknowledgment to that Venerable Society," nor to express in generous terms its "most lively gratitude." In response to such gratitude, the Society with great pride shares with America the treasures of its muniment room, the archives of the early history of them both. The manuscripts present a wide field; they explain the past, they suggest the developments of the future. In time when treaties, commerce, finance and all the mechanism of an over-complicated world enslave countries, whether to their good or their undoing, none can foretell, such bonds as the records of their mutual history are potent only for good. A great man whom our two countries share, caused to be written over the doors of his libraries "All that mankind has done, thought, gained or been is lying in the pages of books." Humbly as trustees we claim that much of the human activity, thought and endeavour which explain and bind our nations to one another is preserved in the muniments of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

III.

MASSACHUSETTS

BY WAY of prologue I should like to say that this lecture is based on archives which have almost all been copied or photographed and are accessible in this country. I have not, therefore, attempted to give a systematic and comprehensive account of the early work of the S. P. G. missionaries in this province, as many of you are no doubt already conversant with the history of the respective parishes of Massachusetts. What I have done is to give a very general survey of the early days as far as the missionaries were concerned—the difficulties to be overcome, the success attendant upon each, and, finally, the varying fortunes of our men during the War of Independence. The extracts that have been quoted are in the nature of parentheses to bear out my statements: hearing them I think you cannot fail to be either impressed or amused by the dignity or naivete of those eighteenth century pens. I have had the advantage, in writing this lecture, of working from the original documents. They, as old letters always do, have brought the past very close—that past fraught just as our present is today with trial and fear and the compensating happiness and hope.

The story of the Society's connection with Massachusetts begins in the days when America was indeed a brave New World and, as an unknown land, promised a fuller life to the disappointed, the zealous, and the adventurous. In those days the shores of New England symbolized to many an eager traveller the country of hope fulfilled; the long voyage over he saw at last his Arcadia, his Salem, or his Eldorado. During the seventeenth century Massachusetts was one of the chief landing-stages for those who came to America to play their parts in a more congenial setting; and from Massachusetts they set out—north, south and west, the broad field beckoning them on to enterprise and achievement.

This huge land lay at the feet of George Keith when he landed at Boston on June 11th, 1702. As the first missionary of the S. P. G. he had come to "lay the Nets of Salvation" in America, and to start that concerted effort that was to result in the American Episcopal Church. He travelled from New England to North Carolina, preaching, baptizing, refuting false doctrine, publishing sermons, and scattering tracts. The object of his tour was to supply the Society with an authentic account of the state of religion in America and to report where it would be of most profit to send missionaries. Keith came

over with the Rev. Patrick Gordon (prospective missionary to Long Island), and the Rev. John Talbot (chaplain to the ship—he joined Keith and the service of the Society and was afterwards stationed in New Jersey). Here is Keith's own account of his voyage and arrival in America, written to the Secretary the day after he landed:—

June 12th 1702.

Worthy Sir,

After signifying my Christian Respects to yourself, this is to acquaint you with our good Passage and safe Arrival to Boston in New England the 11th of this Instant having been but six weeks betwixt our sailing from the Cowes, and our Arrival at Marblehead a good Harbour about 20 miles from Boston, and next day we arrived safely at Boston.

Our worthy friend, Governor Dudley, (of New England), is well, and I heard him say, he never had a more comfortable Passage, he was so very civil & kind to Mr. Gordon & me, that he caused us both eat at his Table all the Voyage, and his Conversation was both pleasant and Instructive, in so much that the great Cabin of the Ship was like a Colledge for good Discourse both in Matters Theological and Philosophical and very cordially he joined daily with us in divine worship and I well understand he purposeth to give all possible Encouragement to the Congregation of the Church of England in this place. Also Col: Morris, (Governor of New Jersey), was very civil & kind to us, and so was the Captain of the Ship call'd the Centurion, . . . and good order was kept in the Ship, so that if any of the Seamen were complained upon to the captain for profane swearing, he caused to punish them according to the usuall Custom by causing them to carry a heavy wooden Collar about their neck for an hour that was both painful and shameful”

In his Journal, published on his return to England, Keith says that on his arrival he and his companions were kindly entertained in Boston by the Rev. Samuel Miles and the Rev. Christopher Bridge, the only Ch. of England ministers in the province. During his travels, Keith had the opportunity of seeing the plight of those members of the Ch. of England who had settled in America and who for the most part were without either minister or church. His coming inspired many petitions for missionaries and many little communities were set crying “Come over and help us.” Dissenters of various different sects, including Quakers, Presbyterians, and Anabaptists, quite outnumbered the Anglicans in America. Fearing for their freedom, these dissenters did not greet attempts to foster the colonial Episcopal Church with any favour—in fact quite the reverse. Keith at the outset met with opposition from them. On the first Sunday

that he spent in America he preached in the Queen's Chapel at Boston and noted in his Journal that there

was a large Auditory, not only of Church People, but of many others . . .

This first Boston sermon was printed shortly after its delivery and greatly alarmed the Independent preachers in the city. Mr. Increase Mather, that eminent non-conformist and first President of Harvard College, published a short treatise against the sermon and accused Keith—amongst other things—of "Paganism, Judaism, Popery and Simonry." Keith continued this altercation in print by a tract, which, said he,

I had Printed at New York, the Printer at Boston not daring to Print it, lest it should give offence to the Independent Preachers there . . .

He continues, and tells of his visit to Cambridge together with Mr. Talbot and Mr. Bridge:

I was present at the Commencement, which was that very day; and having heard Mr. Samuel Willard, President of the College, at the said Commencement maintain some Assertions that seemed to me very unsound, the next day I writ a Letter to him in Latin, shewing my great dislike of those his assertions, and after some days I sent it to him; after this, at the request of some there, I put it into English, and had it Printed at New York . . .

Mr. Willard replied in a "Small Treatise containing about four Sheets," whereupon Keith laid another 6 "Sheets" to his own credit in refuting Mr. Willard. In a letter to Dr. Bray written in February, 1703, he mentions his concern that Harvard should be so antagonistic to the Ch. of England. He suggests that a little leaven in the way of worthy students and dons from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge in England should be sent to Harvard to counteract the growth of schism there! But as you know, his advice was not taken.

It was not only George Keith who had to contend with the dissenters. In accordance with the Society's charter, S. P. G. missionaries came into foreign parts first of all to minister to those who were already members of the Ch. of England; secondly, they came "to proceed . . . towards the Conversion of the Natives." Now to the eighteenth century Anglican, the convertible natives of America were represented by dissenters every bit as much as by athiests and pagans; it was to the dissenters that the Rev. John Talbot referred when he wrote:

Heathens & Hereticks . . . Superabound in these
Parts, Africa has not more monsters than America . . .

And the dissenters having experienced the intolerance of the Ch. of England at home, in turn became as oppressive to the minority as the powerful majority had once been to them. All our missionaries were faced with their consistent or occasional hostility. New England especially was a stronghold of Non-conformity. Colonel Lewis Morris, Governor of New Jersey, wrote to Archdeacon Beveridge in July, 1702:

I intreat your Interest in sending good ministers into America . . . If the Church can be settled in New England it pulls up schisme in America by the roots, that being the fountain that supplies with infectious streams the rest of America.

(Even Governors apparently lapse into mixed metaphors!)

It was unfortunate both for the Anglican clergy and their parishioners that the high official positions in the province were often filled by dissenters who made things as uncomfortable as possible for their enemies. Perhaps the malign influence was exerted all the more willingly, as many of our most enthusiastic missionaries had conformed from the Independent Churches. Dr. Timothy Cutler of Christ Church, Boston; Dr. Henry Caner of the King's Chapel, Boston; Dr. Mather Byles of the North Church, Boston; the Rev. Edward Bass of Newbury; the Rev. Ebenezer Thompson of Scituate; the Rev. John Wiswall of Falmouth, and the Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks of Marblehead, had all at one time been dissenters.

Friction between the rivals of the Episcopal Church and the members of it arose chiefly over the question of taxation. Taxes were levied as a matter of course upon all and sundry for the support of the various clergy of the province, and then the funds were divided in proportion to the size of the respective congregations. Often the town treasurers were dissenters and favoured their own ministers with sums that belonged by right to the Anglican clergy. Again those who before the advent of a Ch. of England minister had consented to subscribe towards the support of the meeting houses, were even after their professed allegiance to the Ch. of England expected to continue to pay taxes to the Independent Church. Naturally, they only wanted to give money to their own ministers, but if they refused to pay the dissenter's dues, then they were fined or imprisoned or their goods were confiscated. At one time 30 people were put in gaol in one town for not paying what was required of them. We have many pitiful letters complaining of this; many petitions were sent both to the authorities in America and to the Society at home in Lon-

don, but it was not till 1727 that the rulers of the province consented to make some efforts towards redressing the wrong. In that year, an Act was passed by the General Court at Boston which laid down that all persons living within a radius of 5 miles from an Anglican Church could be exempted from taxes claimed by the Congregationalists. This, however, was scarcely redress, as many Anglicans lived further than 5 miles from their parish church. Dr. Cutler of Boston (in a letter to the Secretary in 1731), quotes the case of one James Ellis of Cambridge, who, although a worthy member of the congregation of Christ Church in Boston, was shut up in gaol for not paying the tax to his local dissenting minister at Cambridge. In October, 1731, the Anglican clergy of New England made a concerted complaint against the oppressive measures of the powerful dissenters. They addressed themselves to the Throne of England and prayed that George II would "pronounce his Royal negative" and repeal the Act of 1727. But nothing came of it, nor of a subsequent petition drawn up by Roger Price, the Bishop of London's Commissary in Boston, to the House of Representatives. It was not till 1735 that the 5-mile clause of the Act was abolished, owing to the efforts of Edmund Gibson, Bp. of London, who approached the Governor of New England on the subject. Eventually the vexed question of taxation was settled; juggling with the parochial assessments was no longer countenanced, and at last all moneys collected for the support of ministers were justly made over to the proper parties.

In February, 1730, Dr. Cutler wrote a letter full of foreboding, telling of the appointment of Jonathan Belcher as Governor of Massachusetts Bay. He was a noted dissenter, and, says Dr. Cutler,

. . . lately refused to marry his Daughter to a young Gentleman baptized and brought up in the Church of England before he absolutely promised to forsake the Church which he has accordingly done . . .

Actually, Governor Belcher proved not unjust and only once did feeling run really high between him and a member of the Ch. of England. That was on the occasion when he proclaimed March 25th as the annual fast day throughout the province. Roger Price came to him in a great heat and said that March 25th—Lady Day—was always a festival in the Ch. of England calendar. They had words, and as Belcher was Governor, he won the day! (Subsequently he wrote home to the Bp. of London complaining of the rudeness of Commissary Price.)

It was not only the hostility of the provincial authorities with which our men had to contend. Each one in his own particular parish had to cope with peculiar difficulties laid on the parsonage

doorstep by the jealous dissenters. "The enemies of the Church are active enough against us"; that is a representative sentence from our American letters. No doubt the parochial struggles were all too poignant at the time to the parties concerned, but they are amusing to read of today as we accord our patronage to the past. The Rev. Henry Lucas, writing to the Society in 1717, tells how the rivalry between Anglicans and Independents was responsible for the building of Queen Anne's Chapel at Newbury. Here are his own words:

The meeting House being decayed (which stood very convenient for this corner of the Town) and consequently wanting to be repaired, The majority rather than they would do that agreed to pluck it down and build a new one upon Pipestave Hill three miles from us, whereupon this Corner being disgusted was resolved to have one of their own, and began to build it . . .

The Rev. Edward Bass, writing to the Society many years later, in 1771, told of more faction in connection with the same Church. He writes:

Queen Anne's chapel . . . hath for some years been unfit for use. About a twelvemonth ago, the steeple, containing a bell given by a former Bishop of London, blew down in a storm. My Antagonists have got said bell & some other things belonging to the Church in their possession & refuse to deliver them up, under a pretence that they have a right to them because some of their Ancestors assisted in getting the frame of the house . . .

The opposition of the dissenters was certainly manifested in deeds, but more often in words. "The mouth of Calumny is open against me," wrote Dr. Cutler in 1725. He had been attacked in the Boston News Letter for "userping the pulpit" of the meeting house at Scituate. Many of our missionaries had cause to complain likewise. The dissenters were always vilifying the Church and her ministers in an effort to prejudice possible converts to Episcopacy. The Rev. Thomas Eager wrote from Braintree in 1713 that his parish was a veritable "New Creet" for false reports. The Rev. Addington Davenport of Scituate wrote in a letter dated Nov. 10th, 1735:

They (the dissenters) have not spared most liberally to slander us with every villainy almost that the corruption of human nature could perpetuate, which complim^t they generally pay the Apostates, as they term the proselytes to our Church . . .

Indeed, it was frequently an uncomfortable business being an Anglican in those early days in America. One's character was taken away by the dissenters and then there was small chance of "making good"

except in one's own little circle of staunch churchmen. Mr. Davenport puts the case elegantly when he says that the people were

intimidated by secular views from conformity (which is no considerable clogg to preferment here) . . .

He adds of his own parish of Scituate:

. . . this poor little Church (is) represented as the Trojan horse, big with mischief & ruin to this part of New England . . .

It was not only at Scituate that the Church was held to be a menace and churchmanship a "clogg." The Rev. George Pigot of Marblehead, writing to the Society in 1730, tells of

the fluctuating of two peevish men who now are bandied from Church to Meeting, & from Meeting to Church, as their wives and humours prompt them. These two Gentlemen . . . are both Justices of the Peace, and therefore we are forced to bear with them, that we may at least have some men in authority here who dare shew their faces at the Church . . .

The fact that Harvard College was what the Rev. Charles Brockwell of Salem chose to call a "Seminary of Schism," was a disturbing thought to our clergy in Massachusetts. Dr. Cutler's interesting and informative letters furnish the observation that

. . . all possible art consistent with safety & secrecy is used at that college to suppress any good inclination in the Students towards our Excellent Church . . . (Feb. 3, 1727/28.)

At one time, the Ch. of England ministers in Boston had, in the capacity of teaching elders, sat as overseers of Harvard; but the year 1727 saw Dr. Cutler, the Rev. Henry Harris and the Rev. Samuel Miles "shuffled off from sitting with that body." Dr. Cutler did all he could to regain the lost position on the Board of the College. He tried to move the Society to take some steps in the matter and wrote an eloquent letter saying that 150 students all imbued with non-conformist doctrine and potential enemies of the Church were worthy of the Society's notice. There was much argument, but the Independent authorities of the College remained firm; they would not have the Episcopal element introduced into Harvard in the persons of the Anglican ministers. In 1749, however, the S. P. G. presented the College with a selection of books written by Ch. of England divines. As you know, these were unfortunately burnt in the fire that destroyed the College library in 1764, but the Rev. East Apthorp, the rector of Christ Church, Cambridge, proposed

that the Society would make a typical gesture in giving a new present of books to Harvard, thus, he says,

repairing this Great loss to religion and learning in a Colony wholly unprovided of public Libraries . . .

So the books were sent and, to judge from the letter acknowledging them, all feuds between the College authorities and the ministers of the Ch. of England had long been forgiven and forgotten.

From the few instances that I have quoted, you have been assured that the dissenters spared no pains to discourage the establishment of the Episcopal Church in America. But the multitudinous frictions, disputes and squabbles, though they hindered our missionaries, did not daunt them. They did their duty with good courage; though they received set-backs, they also received encouragements.

The first visit of the Methodist preacher, George Whitefield, to America in 1740 was hailed as a consummate evil by the Ch. of England ministers, but it proved to be a blessing in the course of time. The Anglicans met his eloquence with ridicule, but he took the dissenters by storm. We have numerous letters telling of the "enthusiasm"—that is, in the parlance of those days, the madness—of the followers of Whitefield. Here, as a specimen, is an extract from a letter written by the Rev. Charles Brockwell in February, 1741. He says:

Enthusiasts . . . strole about haranguing the admiring Vulgar in *extempore* nonsense . . . Their behaviour is indeed as shocking as uncommon, their groans, cries, screams, & agonies must affect the Spectators . . . whilst the ridiculous & frantic gestures of others cannot but excite both laughter & contempt, some leaping, some laughing, some singing, some clapping one another upon the back . . .

"Such vulgar, crude and boisterous things"—Dr. Cutler's phrase—filled all good church people with contempt, and even many of the heartiest devotees of Whitefield eventually became rather ashamed of themselves. "The cry," wrote Dr. Cutler in December, 1742, ". . . is for sounder Doctrine and regenerate converted ministers." The Church, therefore, was the gainer after all, and many converts were added to her ranks when the Methodist tyranny was over-past.

So the work of the S. P. G. in Massachusetts steadily progressed. New townships petitioned for ministers; new churches were built or enlarged; new missions were established. By 1766 there were three flourishing congregations in Boston and one each at Cambridge, Braintree, Marblehead, Newbury, Scituate, Salem, Taunton, Ded-

ham and Falmouth, and an itinerant missionary was visiting the settlements on the northern frontiers of the province. In June, 1766, the Rev. William McGilchrist of Salem wrote as follows:

Last year the Clergy present at Dr. Cutler's Funeral agreed to have an annual Convention in Boston, to promote mutual love & harmony & to advise each other. Accordingly we met, 14 in number . . . & made something of an appearance for this Country, when we walked together in our Gowns and Cassocks . . .

One very important thing, however, retarded the progress of the Church in New England as it did in every part of America. As you well know, the lack of a resident Bishop enormously complicated matters. Ever since the days of Charles I it had been understood that the Bp. of London had charge of colonial ecclesiastical affairs; he exercised spiritual jurisdiction in the British overseas dominions, and all Ch. of England missionaries had to defer to him. He appointed commissaries who acted as local secretaries and sent home reports from the most important cities of America. But it was a far cry across the vast width of the Atlantic to the see of London, and the American colonies deeply felt the separation from their diocesan; they were well-nigh cut off from the help and authority of a Bishop whose immediate presence would have meant so much to all churchmen in America. Questions that needed a speedy answer had to be asked by letters and a reply could only be obtained after an interval of several weeks—always supposing the letters reached their respective destinations, which was not always the case. Frequently we find duplicates among our American letters or the writer recapitulates the information contained in his last communication to the Society; thus the missionaries took precaution against a packet service none too reliable in the days when sea-faring was fraught with so many dangers. But it was not only letters that had perforce to dare the hazards of the seas; all American candidates for the ministry had to take the same perilous voyage to England to be ordained. The Rev. William Hooper of Trinity Church, Boston, writing to the Society to announce his safe arrival in Boston in August, 1747, tells of his adventurous voyage from England. Ten weeks from Portsmouth

. . . a Spanish Man-of-War had almost demolished the Warwick in Which I was, and a storm had almost sunk the Merchant Ship on which I went on board after I left the Warwick. But blessed be God, I arrived safe at last . . .

Many prospective missionaries were drowned either on the way

to England or on the return journey. Some having arrived safely in London sickened and died of epidemics prevalent in the city. Such was the case of Dudley Bradstreet an ex-Independent minister, who went to England for ordination prior to becoming the Society's missionary at Newbury. He died in London in May, 1714. We have a pathetic letter written on behalf of the dead man and addressed to the Bp. of London who had recently ordained him. The writer prays that Mr. Bradstreet's few debts and funeral expenses may be paid by "the Illustrious Society in whose cause he lost his life," but the letter is written chiefly that the Bishop may refute the whisper in New England that the worthy man's death "was a Judgement on him for his Apostacy."

It is small wonder that the "danger and expence of a voyage of 1,000 leagues long"—the possibility of shipwreck, sickness, and encounters with pirates or enemy ships, made many waver in their desire to become ministers of the Ch. of England. The less spirited gave up the idea of "coming at the Gown"; some continued to plough their furrows meekly under the yoke of dissent; others boldly took their lives in their hands, or more truly, tossed them to the Hand of God and set sail for England to gain the rank of priesthood. An Episcopate in America would of course have obviated these toilsome voyages that lost so many labourers to the harvest. (On the other hand, the risks were a kind of trial by ordeal that confirmed or dissipated the enthusiasm of would-be missionaries and as such they were of value.)

Again and again the need of an Episcopate in America was stressed in numberless memorials. "We have been here these twenty years calling till our hearts ache," wrote Talbot in 1717. Dr. Cutler pointed out that the French and the Spaniards in America had their Bishops while the English Americans were without one. This must have been a bitter reflection in the days when British feelings ran so high against France and Spain, the arch-enemies of eighteenth century England. In 1760, Dr. Henry Caner of Boston suggested that a visitor appointed by the Bp. of London should make a tour of the parishes to meet both ministers and congregations, to amend abuses, settle disputes, and generally bring to America the authority if not the power of a Bishop. Differences of opinion are bound to occur in any thinking community, and John Checkley—that misrepresented man—said with truth that the Anglicans in America needed

a principlee of unity upon the spot, to heal those disorders
which neither the vigilance nor wisdom of . . . our right
reverend Diocesan, at so great a distance, can forsee or, I
fear, prevent . . .

Another point must be remembered also: with no Bishop the American people were denied Confirmation.

Many times it seemed that all the pleas, prayers and petitions, humble, eloquent or forceful, would result in an American Episcopate, The Society at home did all it could. The Throne was frequently approached, but civil events always came between the champions of the cause and their end. Now it was the death of Queen Anne; now the activities of the Old Pretender; now the ambitions of the Duke of Newcastle who was anxious to keep the favour of the dissenters and knew that the fear of taxation made them greatly opposed to the settlement of Bishops.

So time passed away in fruitless effort, and 80 years after the coming of the first S. P. G. missionary there was still no Episcopate in America. "This," as Dr. Caner wrote in 1762, "is a melancholy subject which I take no pleasure to dwell upon."

From the year 1766 onwards, our missionaries in New England begin to mention the "murmurs and disorders" in that "time of confusion." From 1766 until the actual outbreak of war, they were busy instilling a "spirit of peace & patience" into their parishioners and encouraging loyalty to the Crown. The Rev. William McGilchrist of Salem, in June, 1768, reported on the bitterness of the people against Parliament and the Church. He wrote:

Last week their chief Demagogue declaimed vehemently in the general Court against the oppressive impositions, as he termed them, of the English; & to set a keener edge on his hearers' passions asserted roundly that their Churches were in danger, inveigh'd bitterly against his Grace of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, and pursued a parallel between the former and Archbishop Laud . . .

Mr. McGilchrist makes an interesting point in a letter dated June 27th, 1769. He says:

They that are of the Church of England in this country are of a more moderate Spirit in political matters than the Dissenters; whose ministers in all cases take the popular side, and are carried down with the torrent. And the chief of the sons of liberty as they that oppose the English duties are pleased to style themselves, have confess'd that they could not have succeeded in Inflaming the minds of the People as they have done, if they had not had a Regiment of Black Coats to back them . . .

In 1770, the Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks of Marblehead reported on the confusions that had arisen through the sudden repeal of the Stamp Act. Half the people, he said, had thought Parliament in the right but when it made no attempt to maintain its own au-

thority, then the protagonists of Parliament felt badly let-down and inclined to side with the rebels.

So the storm gathered, and the missionaries had much ado to live peaceably according to their principles.

We are neither allowed to speak nor scarcely to be silent unless we join with those who we believe to be labouring the destruction of our constitution, civil & religious . . .

They had written to this effect from their annual Convention in 1768 and the years were to bring home to every one of them the fact that a definite decision had to be made. They had sworn their oath of allegiance and had taken their ordination vows; it was a case of *King or Country*—they had to pledge themselves once for all as loyal subjects of their acknowledged Sovereign or as patriotic supporters of their adopted land. There was no accepted compromise. The Rev. Edward Bass took a broad view of the question; his attitude was common-sense and humane, but the Society considered it disloyal and he was dismissed on evidence that he had complied with the wishes of the patriots. Here is the account of one representative action on his part and the subsequent account of that action reported by his enemies. In January, 1779, when Edward Bass's dismissal was hot in question, Mr. Weeks wrote these words:

Mr. Bass went so far as to preach a sermon exhorting his hearers to give their money liberally for cloathing the rebel soldiers . . .

This statement was exaggerated into the charge

That he preached a Charity sermon to Cloath the American Army . . .

Thus his sympathy was misconstrued. But as you know his Christian principles eventually recommended him as far as the see of Massachusetts; he was consecrated the first Bishop of this province in May, 1797.

The letters written from America after the actual commencement of hostilities are both exciting and moving. There is not time now to give you more than a few extracts. The Rev. Winwood Serjeant of Cambridge wrote in March, 1774:

The Populace are almost daily engaged in riots & tumults: on the 7th Instant they made a second Destruction of 30 Chests of Tea, the property of three or four Merchants . . .

Dr. Caner wrote from Boston in April, 1775:

I have promised to notify them (the New England clergy) if the King's troops sho^d find it necessary to move forward in a hostile manner, that they may retire to this town for a time, lest possibly they should be seized on as Hostages, if no worse . . .

The Rev. Mather Byles, writing to the Secretary a few days later, reported

the sword of civil war was unsheathed and there was a battle between the Regulars and the Provincials in which numbers were killed on both sides. In consequence of this New England is now in an uproar. Boston is besieged. Letters are intercepted and all friendly intercourse between Town and Country prevented. The Inhabitants of this place are now confined to a Garrison . . . Pity me, my dear Sir, . . . everything round me is confused . . .

Dr. Caner wrote a graphic account of the siege of Boston; the letter may be already familiar to you.

The King's Troops succeeding in removing the Enemy from a very strong and well defended Entrenchment yet it proved a very dear bought victory. The greatest part of the Grenadiers of the light Infantry fell in the Action. The killed and wounded amount to above a 1000 men, of which 92 were officers. We are now closely besieged, the Rebels having brought forward their works within about half a mile all around us, except to the Seaward. They have fortified every Hill and Eminence with Redoubts and Entrenchments, so that it will require a strong Army to remove them—The Inhabitants of this Town, about one third of which remain, are greatly distressed for want of provision and firing. The salt provision, to which we have long been confined, joined with the heat of the weather, have brought on Fluxes and other disorders, which are now become epidemical and prove very mortal . . .

He goes on to describe the fates of various missionaries:

Mr. Serjeant of Cambridge has been obliged with his family to fly for the safety of their lives . . . Mr. Weeks of Marblehead is also fled . . . Mr. Wiswall of Falmouth, after being taken prisoner, escaped out of their hands and has taken shelter in this town . . . We are all of us in a distressing situation. In the Town we are exposed to famine; in the Country to the sword . . . The King's loyal subjects . . . are daily flying to Halifax, Quebec, to the West Indies and to England . . .

On the 10th of March, 1776, Dr. Caner was notified that the British troops were about to evacuate Boston and in haste he packed up a few goods and sailed for Halifax. Dr. Byles remained as long as possible in the city as chaplain to the Garrison and hospitals, but on the sudden retreat of the King's forces, he too had to fly to Halifax, and from there he wrote:

I now see myself, without being guilty of any crime to occasion it reduced within the compass of a few Days to the most distressing Circumstances imaginable; an Exile from my native country; pent up in one wretched chamber, in a strange Place, together with my five motherless children . . . entirely at a Loss as to my future Residence & Subsistence . . .

The Rev. William Clark of Dedham experienced even more severe trials. In a most interesting letter he tells how he fell under suspicion for having assisted a man who signified that the war was a rebellion. A hostile mob attacked his house and he was taken to a public-house, there to view a picture of that super-rebel, Oliver Cromwell, at once the hero and the excuse of the sons of liberty. He was subsequently tried at Boston but not allowed a counsel; he was condemned to banishment and confiscation of estate. Through the intercession of friends, however, he was allowed to return to his house on parole and continued to conduct the services of his church in full for more than eight months after the declaration of independence, when prayers for the King were forbidden by law. He continued to hold private meetings with the loyalists of his parish who were not intimidated by the risk. Being deaf and asthmatical, he was at last allowed to leave his cure and returned to England. In his own words he had drunk "deep of the cup of affliction and endured complicated misery."

The Rev. John Wiswall of Falmouth also suffered. In August, 1775, he wrote:

The Falmouth people detained all my property, my Library which was a good one . . . all my household furniture, and my real estate they appropriated to the pay of the Army which they have raised to join the Continental Forces round the town . . .

His wife and daughter died as a result of the hardships to which they were exposed.

We have many other pathetic letters telling of the trials of the missionaries in those troublous times. There is not space now to

quote more. Suffice it to say that with the exception of Edward Bass, they all fled from perjury that seemed more ignominious than the insults of the people. In Canada or England they reflected on their labours that had been cut short so suddenly and so finally. No doubt they regretted leaving the land where their predecessors had worked and where they themselves had looked on the growth of seed sown on good ground. Could they have seen across a span of time to the thankful rejoicing of the American people over their Episcopal Church honoured by 150 years of effort and success, I think they would have smiled and thanked God.

MASSACHUSETTS TOWNSHIPS AND THEIR MISSIONARIES

BOSTON:

Rev. Dr. Timothy Cutler, Christ Church, 1723-1764.

Rev. James Greaton, Assistant to the above, succeeded him but asked to be removed because of a dispute.

Rev. Stephen Roe, Lecturer, 1743-4.

Rev. Dr. Henry Caner, King's Chapel, 1747-1776.

Rev. Dr. Mathew Byles, North Church, 1769-1775.

CAMBRIDGE:

Rev. Dr. East Aphthorp, 1759-1764.

Rev. Winwood Serjeant, 1767-1775.

BRAINTREE:

Rev. Wm. Barclay, 1704-5.

Rev. Thomas Eager, 1712-14.

Rev. Ebenezer Miller, 1727-1761.

Rev. Edward Winslow, 1764-1779.

MARBLEHEAD:

Rev. Wm. Shaw, 1715-17.

Rev. David Mossom, 1718-1726.

Rev. George Pigot, 1727-1738.

Rev. Alexander Malcolm, 1739-1748.

Rev. Peter Bours, 1752-1762.

Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks, 1762-1779.

NEWBURY OR NEWBURYPORT:

Rev. John Lambton, 1714-15.

Rev. Henry Lucas, 1716-20.

Rev. Matthias Plant, 1721-53.

Rev. Edward Bass, 1753-1779.

SALEM

Rev. Charles Brockwell, 1739-1743.

Rev. William McGilchrist, 1746-1779.

SCITUATE (with Marshfield and Stoughton):

Rev. Addington Davenport, 1735-37.

Rev. Charles Brockwell, 1737-8.

Rev. Ebenezer Thompson, 1746-1779.

TAUNTON:

Rev. John Lyon, 1766-68.

HOPKINTON (and Indians):

Rev. Roger Price, 1748-1753.

Rev. John Troutbeck, 1753-1757.

DEDHAM:

Rev. Edward Winslow, 1764-69.

Rev. William Clark, 1769-1778.

FALMOUTH:

Rev. John Wiswall, 1765-1775.

THE CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA

By Louis C. Washburn, D.D.

CERTAIN real gains are being garnered from the sesqui-centennial celebrations of last year and this. It is evident that we should re-think and re-read our histories, ecclesiastical and secular. The meticulous recording of dates and facts will always engage the attention of the chronologists; but if the history of the past is to be made to light the path of present progress, the art of the historian must reveal the impelling forces and human reactions in personalities and movements tending toward purposive goals. Modern developments in this department of literature have been quite as impressive as the march forward in the physical sciences.

And yet, there has been a manifest retrogression in one direction, and that perhaps the most vital of all; and it behooves those who would sketch the experiences of the Church of God in one land or century and another, to enrich the thought of each generation by bringing to the fore this surprisingly neglected element in our racial evolution.

Looking unto the rock whence one and another of our American Colonies was hewn, it becomes imperative to make it convincingly clear that the Rock was none other than the Lord Christ. There never was a period when we have been under graver necessity for certifying the incalculable debt that we individually, and as a nation, owe to the Christian religion. The one hope for recovery in all our mutual relationships lies in applying the Mind and Spirit of the Master of men and society. Ecclesiastical and theological investigators may profitably continue to evaluate the differences that have rent the "seamless robe"; and the World Conference on Faith and Order may haply prove a constructive agency; but if the Forward Movement is to bear full fruitage we must focus the thought of today upon the indispensable realities of our spiritual heritage.

What have the text books in our schools to say to the oncoming youth about God in human life? What recognition of Him is to be found in our contemporary literature? How persuasively do our Church apologists affect the pagan implications of our best sellers?

It is with such introductory interrogations that we would indicate the significance of the development of our Church in Pennsyl-

vania. The altogether admirable article on the Diocese of Maryland exhales this spirit.¹ This underlying conviction was thus stated a generation ago by a recognized authority amongst Oxford scholars; "history teaches us this, that in tracing back the course of human progress we come in one case after another upon Christianity as the source from which improvement derived its principle and its motive. We find no other source adequate to account for the new spring of amendment; and without it, no other source of good could have been relied upon. It was not only the strongest element of salutary change, but one without which others would have had no chance."

Indubitably it was the great emancipating revelations of the Christ that undermined the entrenched tyrannies of apostolic days and succeeding centuries. Loyalty to His magnetic personality knit His followers into a fellowship consecrated to the dignity of our common manhood, and to the replacing of self-seeking oppressions with self-sacrificing service.

Those simplehearted disciples whom He had trained so patiently understood Him at least in part, and with an exhilaration that was indomitable and contagious went forth to share the transforming secret, turning the world upside down.

From oppressed, and in turn persecuting Palestine, the adventurers for God carried the glad tidings to Asia, and Greece, and Rome, and to the ends of the known earth, to Britain, and after sixteen hundred years to this western continent.

It was in the fullness of providential time, that this regenerating stream of the revealed mind of the heavenly Father, filtered for the most part through Anglo-Saxon soil, swept on to these shores, bearing the sturdy pioneers of the faith to establish the permanent foundations of a new experiment in the making of man.

Supplementing the adventurous Jesuit missionaries to the north and west from France and Spain, the hardy builders of the Colonies—Churchmen, Puritans, Quakers, and the rest, with all their minor cleavages, were predominantly what they were because of their English Christianity, with their English Bible, and Shakespeare and all their inbred traditions and convictions about God and His universe, and about man and his job in the world.

So came the hardy John Cabot in the little ship "Matthew" in 1497 discovering the new continent; and so Sir Francis Drake in 1579 reached the California coast, where his chaplain, Francis Fletcher, held a service at which the natives "seemed greatly to be affected"; thereafter the ill-fated colony of Sir Walter Raleigh landed on Roanoke Island in 1587, baptizing the friendly Indian, Manteo, as well

¹March, 1934.

as the first white child born on American soil, Virginia Dare. Then followed in 1607 the Jamestown settlers with Captain John Smith and the godly minister, Robert Hunt; and Captain Smith records in his diary that after the minister died "we continued our daily prayers with a homily on Sunday for two or three years after 'til more preachers came." Thirteen years later the "Mayflower" brought over the devout settlers of Massachusetts; and in 1629 Captain William Claiborne established on Kent Island, Maryland, a plantation made up of members of the Church of England, followed in 1634 by the arrival of the "Ark and Dove."

It was in the same decade that the first group of early Swedish Lutheran settlers penetrated up the Delaware River and in due course built their church in Wilmington, Delaware, and another in "Wiccacoe" in Pennsylvania, and subsequently another church in Kingessing, and still another up the Schuylkill River at what is now known as Bridgeport. These Swedish settlements were leavening centers of Christian influences, preparing the way for the colonization by William Penn and his followers. 1682 is a comparatively late date in the record of the several attempts to take possession of our Atlantic seaboard; and yet there were unique features about the enterprise of the Friends that have proved of extraordinary significance in the development of Pennsylvania and the shaping of our national ideals and spirit.

The first Church of England congregation gathered in Pennsylvania dates from 1695; it was made possible by the alert religious zeal of Henry Compton, Bishop of London. He saw to it that the clause was written into the charter Charles II granted to Penn, providing that at the request of twenty inhabitants a chaplain might be appointed for Pennsylvania. As early as 1695, the required number met, purchased a lot of ground on Second Street, and within a year a building was erected, and the Rev. Thomas Clayton, with due credentials, arrived to take charge of it. He found a congregation of about fifty persons, which under his active leadership was increased in the space of two years to seven hundred; when a sudden fatal illness left the promiscuous work shepherdless. Amongst the determined group that inaugurated the devout enterprise were a number of substantial pioneers of religious liberty headed by Joshua Carpenter, Robert Quarry, Jasper Yeates, John Moore, George Fisher and John Harrison. Upon their appeal to Bishop Compton he sent them the Rev. Evan Evans, who proved eminently fitted for advancing the cause of religion in the infant town and surrounding hamlets. He visited settlements twenty, thirty, fifty miles distant; preached, baptized and administered the Holy Communion wherever he found

persons willing to receive him. He encouraged neighboring members of the Church to meet together and hold religious services for mutual instruction and encouragement. He organized many congregations and visited them frequently, without neglecting his duties at home. His flock in Philadelphia rapidly increased. For four years he had no fellow laborer in his wide-reaching field; but by 1704, through his instrumentality, four additional churches were erected in the surrounding settlements. In 1707 domestic duty called him back to England for a time, and while in London he addressed a memorial to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, stating what his labors had been, and what their success, and strongly urging that a Bishop should be sent over for the Colonies. In this memorial he names the following places which he often visited: Chichester, Chester, Maidenhead, where he baptized nineteen children at one time; Chester or Upland, Evesham in West Jersey, Montgomery, Radnor and Oxford. "All which," he says, "though equally fatiguing and expensive, I frequently went to, and preached in, being by all means determined to lose none of those whom I had gained, but rather add to them, till the Society otherwise provided for them. Montgomery and Radnor had the most considerable share in my labors, where I preached in Welsh once a fortnight for four years." He had baptized in Philadelphia and the above-named places eight hundred adults and children. On his return to his parish, in 1709, he continued to visit as before the neighboring settlements, and on one occasion baptized a whole family of Quakers to the number of fifteen."

Mr. Evans again visited England in 1715, at which time he received the honorary degree of doctor of divinity from one of the English universities. He returned the year following and undertook the charge of Oxford and Radnor, in connection with his own Church, but the duties were too arduous, by reason of his age and infirmities; and he resigned in 1718, to accept a less laborious cure offered him by the Governor of Maryland, and there he died in 1721. The Society in England bore this testimony to his character, "that he has been a faithful missionary, and had proved a great instrument toward settling religion and the Church of England in those wild parts."

But while due praise is awarded to both Mr. Clayton and Doctor Evans, we must not forget that it was a small band of devoted laymen who, unaided and alone, before the arrival of any minister, organized themselves into a congregation and built a church, the first in the Province.

From the files of the S. P. G. the following correspondence throws illustrative lights:

"On November 5, 1702, Keith and Talbot arrived at Philadelphia, 'and were kindly received by the two Ministers there, and the Church People, and especially by the late converts from Quakerism, who were become zealous Members of the Church.' On the next day, Sunday, the two Missionaries preached, 'and had a very great auditory, so that the church could not contain them, but many stayed without and heard.' Their preaching here and elsewhere prepared the way for resident Missionaries, whom the Society was not slow to send, the first being the Rev. H. Nichols, in 1703. He was stationed at Chester, or Uplands, where the people had begun building a church, but as the Vestry informed the Society, 'We never had so much reason to hope that ever the Gospell would be propagated, in these of all other Forreign Parts, till now we find ourselves to be the subject of your greatest care.' The Philadelphia *Minister and Vestry* also wrote in 1704:

" 'We can never be sufficiently thankfull to Divine Providence, who hath raised you up to maintain the Honor of religion, and to engage in the great work of promoting the Salvation of Men. Gratitude, and an humble acknowledgment of your noble and charitable Resolutions of propagating the Sacred Gospell in these remote and dark corners of the world, is not only a duty, but a just debt to you from all true Professors of Christianity. We cannot but with the profoundest deference make mention of those noble instances of piety and Beneficence you exhibited to the Church of God in generall in these uncultivated parts since you were first incorporated, particularly we crave leave to return you our most thankfull acknowledgments for your pious care in sending over the Rev. Mr. Keith, whose unparalleled zeal and assiduity, whose eminent piety, whose indefatigable diligence (beyond what could be expected from a person of his declining years), whose frequent preaching and learned conferences, whose strenuous and elaborate writing made him highly and signally instrumentall of promoting the Church and advancing the number of Christians not only here but in the neighbouring provinces.'

"Thus encouraged the Society continued to send Missionaries to Pennsylvania to minister to the settlers, Welsh as well as English, and to evangelise the heathen. The Colonists showed their desire for the Church's ministrations by building and endowing churches, and otherwise contributing to the support of their pastors.

"The Rev. T. Crawford, after two years' work at Dover, reported in 1706:

" 'At my first comeing I found the people all stuffed with various opinions, but not one in the place that was so much of a churchman as to stand Godfather for a child; so that I was two months in the place before I baptized any on that account . . . but now (I thank God) I have

baptized a great number, they bring their children with sureties very orderly to the church; and also people at age a great many for by God's blessing upon my labours I have not only gained the heart of my hearers but some that were my greatest enemies are come over and have joyned themselves to our Communion. I have baptized families of them together, so I have dayly additions to the congregation."

"In Sussex County the Rev. W. Becket (1721-4) effected such a reformation in the lives of the people as to draw forth the 'thanks of the Magistrates and gentlemen of the Church of England' in the county. Within three years three churches were built in his Mission, 'yet none of them,' he wrote in 1724, 'will contain the hearers that constantly attend the Church service.' Grateful too were the Welsh at Oxford and Radnor, to be ministered to in their own tongue, while only 'poor settlers' 'in the wilderness.' The people at Radnor 'built a church in hopes of being supplied with the right worship of God,' hopes that were gratified in 1714 by the appointment of the Rev. J. Clubb. Amongst those who served was Richard Welton (1724-6) who was understood to have been consecrated a bishop by the non-jurors, but was recalled by the Bishop of London."

Beginning with the Crown officers of the earliest time, such as Colonel Robert Quarry, Judge of the Admiralty, and John Moore, Advocate of that Court, and continuing with the Lieutenant Governors under the Penns and various connections of that family, and ending with Benjamin Franklin and several other Signers of the Declaration of Independence, the congregation in Colonial times included nearly every Philadelphian of prominence outside of the Society of Friends. They were the products of the Church rather than its patrons; reverent worshippers of the God of their fathers, inheriting the ideals and nurtured by the disciplines that enabled them, each in his turn, to serve in the building of the New World.

Next to William Penn, himself a baptized child of the English Church, Pennsylvania owes most first to Bishop Henry Compton and perhaps even more to his Commissary, Thomas Bray. Dr. Bray's spiritual enthusiasm and inexhaustible resourcefulness were given enduring expression in the two far-reaching organizations, gratefully known in all the Colonies as the S. P. C. K., organized in 1698, and the S. P. G., incorporated in 1701. The Library, which as early as 1696 he founded here and administered with such effective methods as challenged comparison with the most modern of our libraries, served as an inducement for desirable graduates from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge to come to these shores. And the personal supervision and generous support provided by his associates in the

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel enlisted and sustained clergymen of choice quality and constructive leadership through the eighty fruitful years up to the Revolution. A distinctive characteristic in the Quaker settlement was its avoidance of an established church, either as found in the Southern States or in Massachusetts. This escape from any entangling alliance between State and Church had not a little to do with ensuring the high character and notable ability of the Pennsylvania clergy. Moreover, from the beginning the laity were so closely identified with responsibilities in the Church as to ensure a maximum of mutual helpfulness between them and the clergy. Whatever criticism, therefore, may be justly made of certain representatives of religion in other Colonies is not to be sweepingly applied in Pennsylvania. For instance, the Mother Church in Philadelphia has had but twelve rectors in its two hundred and forty years; and each and every one of these men have been faithful and fruitful in advancing the Kingdom.

The significant feature of this whole period was the co-operation of successive groups of outstanding laymen who, under the inspirations of the sanctuary, combined to build them into the community life of the Commonwealth and the Nation. Space forbids even the enumeration of these men here. But we should not omit to recall Dr. John Kearsley, the pioneer philanthropist, who not only for thirty years, from 1727, supervised the erection of the present monumental Christ Church, and was one of the committee of three who built Independence Hall, but who also in 1772 endowed Christ Church Hospital, which for years had been his personal contribution to Philadelphia's social service development. Nor can we overlook the co-operation of Benjamin Franklin in the erection of the tower and the importation of the famous bells.

It was in 1761 that St. Peter's Church was organized to care for the rapidly growing congregation; and that, hard by, St. Paul's Church came into being.

Then dawned in Philadelphia, now the foremost center in the Colonies, the agitation against the oppressive treatment of the German George who sat on the throne in England. The clergy and laity here were the outspoken exponents of the ideals of English Christianity. The following typical proclamation, dated June 30, 1775, was addressed to the Bishop of London, by Reverends Richard Peters, Jacob Duche, Thomas Coombe, William Stringer, William White and William Smith:

"We have neither interest nor consequence sufficient to take any great lead in the affairs of this great country. The people will feel and judge for themselves in matters

affecting their own civil happiness; and were we capable of any attempt which might have the appearance of drawing them to what they think would be a slavish resignation of their rights it would be destructive to ourselves as well as to the Church of which we are Ministers. But it is but justice to our superiors, and to your Lordship in particular to declare that such conduct has never been required of us. Indeed could it possibly be required, we are not backward to say that our consciences would not permit us to injure the rights of the country. We are to leave our families in it, and cannot but consider its inhabitants entitled as well as their brethren in England to the right of granting their own money; and that every attempt to deprive them of this right will either be found abortive in the end or attended with evils which would infinitely outweigh all the benefits to be obtained by it. Such being our persuasion, we must again declare it to be our constant prayer, in which we are sure your Lordship joins, that the hearts of good and benevolent men in both countries may be directed towards a plan of reconciliation worthy of being offered by a great nation that has long been the patrons of freedom throughout the world, and not unworthy of being accepted by a people sprung from them and by birth claiming a participation in their rights."

In this bold announcement they doubtless voiced the attitude of such foremost citizens here as Richard Bache, William Bingham, John Cadwallader, Benjamin Chew, Gerardus Clarkson, Redmon Cunyngham, Manuel Eyre, Michael Hillegas, Archibald McCall, Charles Meredith, Edmond Physick, William Plumstead, Samuel Powell, Edward Shippen and Richard and Thomas Willing.

In the maturing crisis no more courageous and constructive messages were spoken anywhere than those that issued time and again from this pulpit.

The fifty-six signers of the Declaration of Independence had been bred to such convictions as the primary dignity of human personality and the joy of service. They knew their Bibles, and constantly turned to God in worship and prayer for illumination and invigoration for helpfulness.

At the close of the Revolutionary War, our Church was bereft of its clergy and was popularly suspect as an institution somehow representative of the rejected British Government. The one minister left in Pennsylvania was the youthful William White, who soon proved himself the veritable savior of the situation. As the confidant of Washington and the trusted friend of the patriot leaders, he addressed himself with consummate ability to the patient reconstruction of the religious heritage; and throughout his prolonged career

became the guide of incomparable influence in the unprecedented task of re-establishing the spiritual and material forces of the historic Church.

The entire community believed in and loved him personally; and he was able to add to his exacting local pastoral labors prompt and imaginative attention to the needs of the Church in the new State. Moreover, his far-seeing thought rose at once above any sectional boundaries and his winsome approaches to men of complementary temperaments and even conflicting schools of thought enabled him to move forward without hesitation. Before the Treaty of Peace was signed and while there was still grave doubt as to what the future might unfold between the thirteen independent States and their separate or combined international relationships, he put forth in 1782: "The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered," a pamphlet of striking originality and ecclesiastical statesmanship. As a consequence, he became a voluntary Committee of Correspondence with thoughtful fellow-churchmen here and everywhere. In 1783 he submitted to his vestry a proposition for forming a representative body of the Episcopal Churches in this State. At Eastertide, 1784, their proposals were laid before the congregations after several meetings with Mr. Blackwell of St. Peter's and Dr. Magaw of St. Paul's and a few representative laymen. A circular letter was agreed upon March 31, 1784, which Mr. White was authorized to send to the wardens and vestrymen of the different Episcopal congregations in the State, requesting them to send one or more delegates each to a meeting to be held in Philadelphia on Monday, the 24th day of May; in this it was pointed out that "a subject of such importance ought to be taken up if possible *with the general concurrence of the Episcopalians in the United States.*" On May 11, 1784, Dr. White and Dr. William Smith of Maryland met with the Rev. Abraham Beach of New Brunswick with the object of resuscitating the "Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Orphans of the Clergy." The principles already agreed upon in Philadelphia were adopted and arrangements were inaugurated for procuring as general a meeting as might be of the clergy and laity of the different States in the city of New York on the 6th of October following. Before that general meeting a provincial one in Philadelphia had great influence upon it. Before the New York meeting Dr. White had further corresponded widely with Churchmen in various parts of the country, outlining the plan of reconstruction, stirring the interest and stimulating action, which resulted in bringing to New York representatives from eight States. It was, of course, a purely voluntary convention and its procedure took the form of recommendation. It

adopted a report embodying essentially the principles affirmed by the Philadelphia clergy in May; and it called for a collective convention to be held in Philadelphia September 27, 1785. Meanwhile, on May 23rd and 24th Dr. White had assembled clerical and lay representatives from his own State in what is popularly known as the first Pennsylvania Diocesan Convention.

Connecticut had already proceeded on somewhat different lines. Ten clergymen had met in 1783 in Woodbury and elected Samuel Seabury to cross the ocean and secure Episcopal consecration. Failing in his application to the English Bishops, he turned to the Scottish non-jurors and was duly consecrated in Aberdeen by Bishop Kilgour, assisted by Bishops Petrie and Skinner. He returned to this country in May, 1785; and after considerable correspondence, and after Dr. White had been duly elected to the Episcopate by the Convention of 1786 and consecrated by the English Bishops in Lambeth in 1787, they united to form a House of Bishops in 1789, when there was held what was really the first General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.

What all this notable process of Church development has meant to the religious life of the American people cannot readily be exaggerated. Its influence in Pennsylvania has been beyond measure, spiritually, culturally, and in the leavening of every department of life.

William White has been inevitably the dominant figure not only because of his unequaled ministry of sixty-six years, for forty-nine of which he was the Bishop of the Commonwealth; but more particularly because of his singular gifts and incessant labors.

There was a challenging quality of reality and emphasis upon essentials in all his teaching and activities. The record of his fertility of initiative and his enterprise in philanthropic and educational directions is in itself impressive. His leadership in the development of schools and agencies of learning, out of which our system of universal education sprang, would fill a volume. He was a trustee of the College (later the University of Pennsylvania) from 1774 to 1836; he was the founder of the Episcopal Academy. He directed his assistants, Jackson Kemper and James Milnor, in starting the first Church Sunday School, and continued its expansion after their removal; he was the first president and founder of the Philadelphia Dispensary, the Prison Reform Society, the Magdalen Society, and the Philadelphia Bible Society; instituted the holding of religious services in the city prison; a lifelong member and for many years vice-president of the American Philosophical Society; he had been Chaplain of the

Continental Congress, and held a similar position with the Federal Congress while the government was located in Philadelphia.

An immediate task at the close of the war was to enlist and train native ministers. At his own suggestion his salary was the meager amount left over from the parish receipts and expenditures. It was with the frank call to a self-denying career that he lured the choicest youths to his tutelage, indoctrinating them with his own spirit of uncalculating eagerness to serve; he trained and ordained them, and they went forth far and near leaving indelible names in the onward march of the Church.

Then as early as 1812 came the organization of the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania. Drink in what he and his originating committee wrote in its prospectus:

"To the sincere believer in Christianity there can be no subject of more delightful reflection than the rapid progress which, by the blessing of God upon the exertion of Christians of all denominations she has made, and is yet making in every quarter of the known world. Her disciples, fighting, not with human weapons, but in the armour of their divine Master—speaking peace and good will to the inhabitants of the earth—have triumphantly planted the standard of the Cross in regions where idolatry had for ages maintained an undivided sway. Confining our view to the United States, there is much reason for joy and gratitude to the Great Disposer of all things. In that Catholick spirit which it is the duty and the disposition of Episcopalians to feel and to express, we applaud the efforts that have been made by all the members of the great Christian family.

"With peculiar pleasure we also regard the happy consequences which have proceeded from the pious and benevolent exertion of the members of our own Church. It would not perhaps become us to speak boastingly of recent occurrences in our own congregations in the city of Philadelphia; but we may be permitted to say that in them also we find much encouragement to our present undertaking."

The year before he thus launched that pioneer Advancement Society he had consecrated his son-in-the-faith, Hobart, to be Bishop of New York; and (after six following consecrations) he laid hands on Philander Chase for his aggressive planting of the Church in Ohio and Illinois; and he was nurturing the youthful Kemper for his wonderful service in Missouri and Indiana and Wisconsin.

In 1813 he began a series of missionary visitations which reached a climax in 1825, when he was seventy-eight years old. In that attempt to cross the Alleghanies he suffered a broken wrist and other

injuries at Lewiston. And the next year at the age of seventy-nine he crossed over to Pittsburgh and Wheeling, Virginia, and completed a circle of eight hundred and thirty miles. Again the following year he penetrated to New Milford, near the New York line, and out to Bradford County.

The Bishop's report to the Convention of 1833, when he was eighty-six, is typical. He had just been presiding at the General Convention, still at work enriching the Prayer Book. As President of the Advancement Society, he had been dedicating new churches in Manayunk and Newtown and West Marlboro, Vincent, Honesdale and Lawrenceville and Grace, Philadelphia. And shortly afterward he presided at the Convention in Delaware. The subjects to which he called attention in addressing his own Convention were these: The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, The Advancement Society, The Sunday School Union, The Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Orphans, The General Seminary, The Pennsylvania Bible Society, and The Bishop's Fund.

Finally he delivered to that Convention a charge on the live topic of the day, "Revivals," a dispassionate, illuminating deliverance of assured benefit at the time, and that would prove suggestive for those who today are interested in the First Century Christian Fellowship.

It may be permitted to repeat that some day our historians will inform themselves and those for whom they write, recapturing a true sense of values and exalting this type of consecrated manhood, together with the high cause of true religion for which he wrought so resultfully.

The story of the march of the Church in Pennsylvania under his successors to the present day is one of continuing advance. The vast territory of the state-wide diocese embraced 44,832 square miles, its population in 1830 was 1,347,672, which has increased today to 9,631,350. The area is now divided into five dioceses in which there are five apostolic bishops, 535 devoted priests, and 150,000 communicants, whose contributions the past year totaled \$4,153,367. The institutions are of wide variety, and the agencies for missionary, educational and humanitarian service are many and efficient in the co-operative task of extending the Kingdom of our Blessed Lord and Saviour.

With gratitude to God for our priceless heritage, we face the future with heart-searching reconsecration and fervent intercession for the deepening of our spiritual life that we may go from strength to strength in the performance of our proportionate share of bringing the power of God into the life of the people.

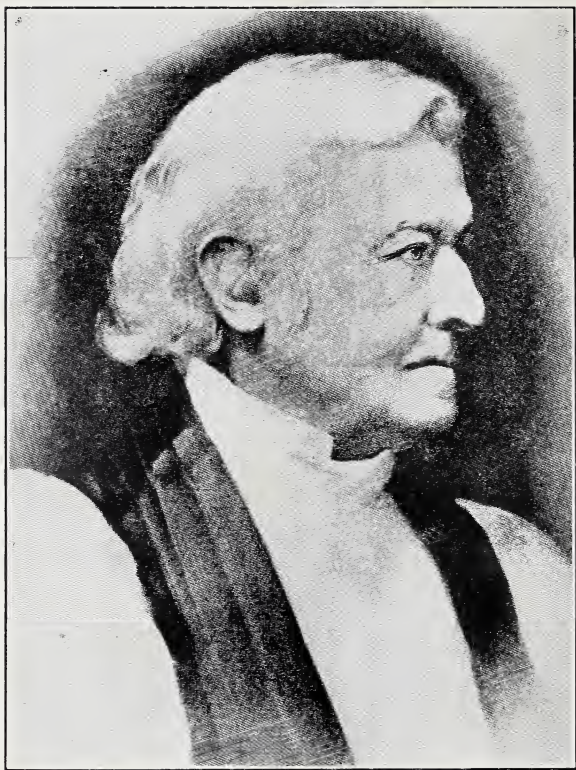
BOOK REVIEWS

Anglicanism: The Thought and Practice of the Church of England.

Illustrated from the Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century. Compiled and Edited by Paul Elmer More and Frank Leslie Cross. Morehouse Publishing Company, Milwaukee, Wis. 1935. Pp. 811.

This large and beautifully printed volume will meet a long-felt want. It brings within the reach of students of Anglican theology the writings of the masters of religious thought in a period of paramount importance. It is extraordinarily rich in material. Beginning with the Church, including the Roman and Eastern, it includes Puritanism and the Quakers, the Bible, Councils and Creeds. Under the head of Theology the Atonement and Immortality find a place. One section is devoted to the Ministry, including non-Episcopal orders. A large place is given to the Eucharist, including the Real Presence and its sacrificial aspect. Under these and many other heads copious extracts are given from the writings of men like Hooker, Jeremy Taylor, Laud, Lancelot Andrewes, John Donne and other writers of the Seventeenth Century. The answer to the question, What is the teaching of Anglicanism? is found in these pages. The extracts are preceded by two invaluable essays: Paul Elmer More on "The Spirit of Anglicanism" and Felix R. Arnott, of Keble College, on "Anglicanism in the Seventeenth Century." The volume closes with a series of extracts illustrating piety in the Caroline period and short biographical sketches. It is good to know that the idea of such a work originated in America and that it has found an American publisher. It should find a place in the library of every parish priest and in the libraries of our intelligent laymen.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.



I am truly & affly yr bro in Christ
Jackson Kemper

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FOREWORD

The advancement of the borders of the Kingdom of God, "the lengthening of the cords and the strengthening of the stakes", has always marked the vigorous and healthy periods of the life of the Church. Following the separation of the American Colonies from England, the infant Episcopal Church found itself weak, and in many places discredited. It was a difficult time, a time first to find, and then firmly to establish itself. God raised great leaders for these purposes. But even in those very earliest days there were some of still larger vision who were concerned for those souls beyond what had been the borders of the original Colonies, concerned that even the weak and infant Church should enter into its full heritage and follow wherever men had gone. None was more zealous in this cause than Jackson Kemper, who from the year of his ordination to the priesthood preached fervently and worked constantly to stimulate and deepen interest in such missionary work. He became the Secretary of the first Missionary Society of the Church. He made the long and difficult voyage to Green Bay in what is now Wisconsin in the interests of that Society. Thus, when finally the Church was roused to its obligation, nothing could have been more natural than that Jackson Kemper should have been chosen the first Bishop of the vast territory of the central and north-west. The thirty-five years of his Episcopate are amazing in what he accomplished, the volumes of his correspondence, the distances he traveled, the large numbers he inspired, the permanence of his building. His passion for souls, his zeal for the Church, his personal devotion to his Lord, and the very charm of his character made Jackson Kemper the great "Apostle of the Wilderness." "There were giants in the earth in those days." Giants they were because of their obedience to the "Heavenly vision." "Now all these things happened unto them for ensamples; and they are written for our admonition."

+Bey. F. P. Jarvis.

Bishop of Milwaukee.

JACKSON KEMPER, PRESBYTER

By Howard Morris Stuckert, Ph.D.

LIKE William Augustus Muhlenberg, Jackson Kemper was of German ancestry. The latter's grandfather, Jacob Kemper, had come from Caub, near the Castle Gutenfels on the Rhine, in 1741. His father, Daniel Kemper, had been a colonel in the Revolutionary War. Of his second wife, Jackson was born in Pleasant Valley, Dutchess County, New York, near Poughkeepsie, December 24, 1789. Soon after the family moved into New York City, where the father was appointed by President Washington to a position in the Customs House. The infant son was baptized "David Jackson" by Dr. Benjamin Moore, then first assistant minister of Trinity Parish; the family being regular attendants at the services in St. Paul's Chapel. During his college days, the name "David" was dropped.

At the age of twelve young Jackson was sent to the Episcopal Academy at Cheshire, Connecticut. There the sensitive and well trained boy was quite unhappy. The school contained a coarse and rowdy element, so after some hesitation his father removed Jackson, who now completed his preparation for college under the Rev. Dr. Edmund Barry, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and one of the best scholars and teachers in the country.

In 1805, when only sixteen, he entered Columbia College, New York. It is recorded of his sensitive and impressionable soul that he was thrilled with the beauty of nature. The boy had been carefully nurtured by a devout and sympathetic mother. As he pursued his college course despite ill health and his father's financial losses, he gave his attention more and more to entering the sacred ministry. While still in college he joined a class organized by Dr. John Henry Hobart, then assistant minister of Trinity Church, which met weekly for the study of theology. When he graduated in 1809 he was valedictorian of his class.

Kemper now spent a year in theological training under Bishop Moore and Dr. Hobart. As soon as he attained his majority—the canonical age for ordination to the diaconate, Bishop Moore was stricken with paralysis. So the canonical authorities recommended

him to Bishop White, the Presiding Bishop, for ordination. In St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, he was made deacon by Bishop White on the Second Sunday in Lent, March 11, 1811. He preached his first sermon in St. James' Church in the same city.

Bishop White was not only Bishop of Pennsylvania and Presiding Bishop of the Church, but also the Rector of what was known as the United Churches of Christ Church, St. Peter's and St. James. The first of these was the mother Church in Philadelphia, having been founded as early as 1695. The newly ordained deacon and his first sermon made quite a stir in this ancient establishment of the Church. His interest in coming to Philadelphia was sought, but he excused himself and returned to New York. His mind was busied with other things and his heart weighed down. The one whom he loved was likewise loved by another, and that other was a friend and classmate. The lady's decision made that spring was against the young clergyman in favor of his friend, leaving a mark upon Jackson Kemper's sensitive soul that remained throughout life.

The minutes of the Vestry of the United Churches for May the 14th, 1811, show the following resolution: "That the Rev. Mr. Jackson Kemper be appointed Assistant Minister to the United Churches with a permanent salary of Three hundred fifty pounds per annum, and such additional allowance as the Vestry may from time to time vote for the other assistant ministers, said allowance being at present three hundred Dollars per annum." The young deacon was thus settled in Philadelphia as an assistant minister for the next twenty years. Associated with him in the United Churches were the Rev. James Abercrombie who, having been there since 1794, was destined to remain until 1832; the Rev. James Milnor from 1814 to 1816; the Rev. William Augustus Muhlenburg, who was presented for confirmation in Mr. Kemper's first class, from 1817 to 1820, and whose subsequent career was one of the most distinguished in the early annals of the American Church; the Rev. Wm. H. DeLancey, who came to the Parish in 1822, remained after Mr. Kemper's departure until 1836, and became the first Bishop of Western New York in 1839. In association with such clergy and many distinguished laymen and laywomen and under the rare tutelage of Bishop White, Jackson Kemper became one of the most experienced and well-balanced clergymen of the Church. Trained under John Henry Hobart in New York, his high viewpoint was tempered by the greater moderation, wisdom and diplomacy of the Primate of the Church.

Philadelphia was then a town of a hundred thousand people with a very varied social life. In and near the city were to be found

old Quaker families of both German and English descent, Roman Catholics, Scotch Irish Presbyterians, and a large group disseminating Deistic unbelief, the continuers of Benjamin Franklin's irreligious influence. Into this community Jackson Kemper threw himself with zeal and enthusiasm. Occupied with many services in the three Churches which made up the combined parish, he devoted himself to pastoral calling which he loved. From the first he was essentially the missionary. When not busy with services, lectures and classes in Philadelphia, he would go up to Germantown, about eight miles distant, and hold services there. St. Luke's Church, Germantown, was then being organized and Kemper went out frequently before a Rector was settled to conduct divine worship and visit the people. In the first two years of his Assistantship the communicant list of Christ Church grew from 200 to 300. His first confirmation class reached the extraordinary number of 180.

Two months after his ordination, at the first Diocesan Convention to which he was a delegate, he was elected its secretary, a post which was conferred upon him by each successive convention to 1817, inclusively.

The General Convention of 1811, after failing to provide for missionary activity beyond the Alleghenies, referred the matter to the Bishops of Pennsylvania and Virginia. But owing to the indisposition of the latter, the former had to proceed alone, which he did by organizing the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania. This organization was completed a few weeks prior to the Diocesan Convention of 1812. Its constitution was presented to and accepted by that Convention and some \$270.00 previously collected for missionary work was ordered paid to the new-born Society. Kemper, who had been active in the formation of the Society, was appointed its first missionary. In the summer of that year he undertook his first missionary tour. Setting out for Radnor, he pushed on to Lancaster, and then to York, Chambersburg, and found a little log church at Huntingdon with a little flock but without a pastor. Early in September he reached Trinity Church, Pittsburg, where he preached; pressing southward, he visited Brownsville, finding churches and church people but no ministers. Crossing into western Virginia, he visited Doddridge, sole missionary in that part of Virginia, who impressed upon him the need for immediate missionary action in the West and greatly widened his missionary horizon.* Retracing his steps, Kemper next visited Beaver on the Ohio River, thirty miles northwest of Pittsburg, from which place he

*For further details about Doddridge, see below: "*The General Convention of 1835.*"

struck back eastward over the same general route and arrived home in the month of October.

In his convention address of 1811 Bishop White had said: "My constant course of parochial duty has prevented me from visiting any neighboring Church destitute of a minister." How differently in his 1813 address he speaks and with what evident satisfaction: "Since the last Convention, the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in this State . . . have begun their labours. Most of the vacant Churches have been visited under their direction." In the same year Kemper was active in establishing the Fund for the Episcopate in Pennsylvania.

Despite all these practical activities Kemper found time to continue his reading in the great theological classics and to brush up his Hebrew. He read a chapter of the Greek Testament daily. Yet he was not a scholar or a theologian, nor yet a preacher of any great note. First and last he was the pastor and the missionary.

Greenough White, in his memoir of Jackson Kemper,* gives us a characterization based upon personal recollection:

His temperament was pastoral rather than sacerdotal or oratorical. He was in his element when making a round of parish visits, which he found to be an easy and eligible means of imparting religious instruction; and his tenderness and personal kindness in times of trouble, sickness, or death endeared him deeply to his people. His prayers and ministrations by the sick bed were especially affecting.

He thoroughly enjoyed simple social visiting, both paying and receiving, and all his life long was very particular about calling on strangers and returning calls. He was a generous giver to every good cause, exemplifying with utmost consistency the principles of his sermon above quoted; indeed, his friends thought him liberal above what he could or ought to afford,—yet he was never in want.

Politically, he was bred in the Federal school, and was never known to express dislike of any one as emphatically as of Thomas Jefferson. This was remarked in one who was exceedingly restrained in criticism of others. On the other hand, he inherited from his New York Dutch ancestry and connections their long-standing prejudice against New England.

He was not a great man intellectually, not a thinker, scholar, writer or eloquent preacher. Such is the testimony of one who knew him best and loved him most,—and none was better aware of these facts than he himself. He had the most modest views of his powers and attainments, and was never satisfied with them but ever strove to improve

*"An Apostle of the Western Church," New York, 1900; pp. 31, 32. (Now out of print.)

himself. Like Washington, he felt and lamented his lack of intimate acquaintance with the past, with history and letters. He was lacking in imagination, as is shown by his indifference to poetry, the drama and fiction. He did not care for Shakespeare, and abhorred Byron; to that poet of reprobate nature he had an antipathy second in intensity only to that he felt toward Jefferson. Among poets he preferred Cowper, and his favorite prose-writer was Addison. He read and enjoyed Scott's romances as they came out. Among American authors, he met and liked both Irving and Cooper. He read newspapers on principle, believing that a minister should keep up with what is going on in the world. He was by no means lacking in humor of a gay and gentle kind; one of his most attractive qualities, which he never lost, was a certain boyish light-heartedness and zest for living. He had a quick and keen appreciation of the ludicrous side of things, expression of which, like Bishop Griswold, he thought it a duty to restrain.

As we have seen, he was affected by beauty and sublimity of landscape and scenery. He loved the mountains, and spoke enthusiastically of the great falls of Niagara. He observed, too, the details of nature, especially the outlines of leaves; he was fond of botany and other branches of natural history,—hence it was a rare pleasure to him to meet, in later years, the ornithologist Audubon.

He had a taste for bright colors and for sweets, but fought off the use of stimulants until the end of his life. He dressed plainly and wore no jewelry, but was scrupulously neat in all his habits. He shared the opinion of his day regarding amusements, holding that attendance at balls, theatres, and horse-races, and all card-playing, were entirely proscribed to the clergy, and were inconsistent with faithful church membership. In Philadelphia in his time card-playing and dancing only began after the clergy had left a party; it was considered an open disrespect to a minister to play or dance in his presence.

In height he was a trifle under the masculine average, being five feet, seven inches tall; his shoulders square, hands and feet shapely and delicate; of erect and graceful figure and springy gait. His voice was sweet but not very strong; and he had no ear for music. His complexion was fair, of good color but not ruddy, save as to the lips. A miniature taken of him by Tott, soon after he was priested, shows a face wide in proportion to its length, thick brown hair combed from left to right, looking as if blown by the wind, short side-whiskers, bright hazel eyes, chin fine and strong,—altogether a handsome face and pleasant expression.

In 1813, while still a Deacon, he was elected to the Standing Committee of the Diocese and continued to be a member of it until 1818. In July of the same year he received a call to become the

Assistant of the Rev. Dr. James Kemp, rector of St. Paul's, Baltimore, at a salary of \$1,333.33 with a house and other perquisites amounting to \$200.00. Not caring to be in the position of having the two parishes bid in competition for his services, he declined the invitation before the Vestry of the United Churches could act. At their meeting of July 19, 1813, they nevertheless increased his salary and significantly raised the pew rents fifty per cent!

After three years in the diaconate, having attained the canonical age of twenty-four, Jackson Kemper was raised to the priesthood by Bishop White in Christ Church on the Third Sunday after the Epiphany, January 23, 1814. Still another honor was bestowed upon this favored son of Bishop White who had risen to such sudden prominence. He was made Secretary of the House of Bishops at the General Convention of 1814.

At this time Bishop White with Mr. Kemper and Mr. Milnor started a Sunday School which "was the first school officially incorporated by any religious organization in America."

Mr. Milnor having been added to the staff of the United Churches, Kemper was enabled to undertake a second missionary journey. Starting out in August, 1814, he revisited the Churches along the old route of two years before, spending a fortnight at Huntingdon. A record of his activity here has been preserved for us, a paper that was evidently a report from him to the Advancement Society.

In church on Sunday, October 30th, he baptized the granddaughter of Dr. Smith, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. On Tuesday he was in Barre Township, ten miles or more to the northwest. The next day finds him in Hopewell Township, thirty-five miles southwest of Huntingdon, publicly baptizing children of two families. Saturday he is back again in Huntingdon baptizing in private. On Sunday he is baptizing publicly two other members of the same family connection to whom he ministered in Barre Township on Tuesday. The next day, Monday, he baptized privately five more children in three different families. This simple record of thirteen baptisms doubtless indicates far more activity than appears on the surface.

The Church in the neighborhood of Pittsburg, where there were four clergymen, was in the doldrums due largely to the want of character on the part of the shepherds. Kemper turned north at Pittsburg to Butler, thirty miles away, and his record of his experiences is interesting:

"As the courthouse was to be occupied by the Presbyterians in the morning, a few Churchmen assembled with

me in a private room. I began by performing the whole of the baptismal service and baptizing three children; then administered the Communion to six persons, and baptized an adult."

In the afternoon he held service in the courthouse, and preached to a throng of hearers; baptized a child in private; and then dined with a widow and her many interesting children.

"She was anxious to have me read the burial service over her husband's grave. The request was a strange one, but after consideration I signified my willingness to comply if it would afford any consolation to the widow, and if her friends would accompany us to the grave. Just before sunset we left the house, she having gone before us with her children and servants. After walking a mile, we came to a large field on a hill full of sheep. In the center was the grave, palisaded by rails and covered with wild flowers. I began the service with feelings somewhat agitated. The setting sun, the bird's-eye view of the town, the sheep, the variegated landscape, and the mourners opposite me, all rendered the scene deeply interesting."

The youthful Missionary now crossed the Pennsylvania line into northeast Ohio, known as the Connecticut Reserve, where he remained most of the autumn.

"He encountered extremely primitive conditions: 'In the same place which serves as kitchen, drawing-room and parlor I have slept at night.' Sometimes a single drinking cup did duty for a whole family! The roads were shockingly bad; his horse had to wade and pick his way over logs; once he was thrown from his horse, and contracted rheumatism from a severe wetting. 'For a month I was traveling through a country nearly inundated with rain; the people were poor, the accommodations bad; sometimes I was benighted and sometimes exposed to dangers. To all these things it appeared to me I would soon become reconciled.' In truth, the underlying bent of his religious nature, his particular taste, endowment and vocation, were then and there fully revealed to him. In many counties through which he rode long vistas of usefulness opened upon his mental gaze. The people, however destitute of apparent necessities of life, proved to be highly intelligent; true Yankees that they were, they had already begun to establish public libraries! Church people, he discovered, were scattered about like sheep in a wilderness; many there were who had not lost their zeal, and who read the service and a sermon every Sunday in their homes. He preached at Canfield, Poland, and Boardman, baptized upon this part of his tour one hundred

and twenty-five souls, and administered the Communion to many 'who had despaired of ever enjoying its reception again.' He helped to form several congregations, and to create a demand for the Prayer Book to the extent of a thousand copies. He pleaded with the parents of a promising youth to let him study for the ministry in Philadelphia; and retraversed his steps, filled with enthusiasm by his new experiences, seriously considering within himself whether he were not called to this fresh field of work. He was ready and desirous to cast in his lot with the rising West, if only it were consistent with 'some filial duties of a pecuniary nature,' (that is, the support of his aging parents, to which, all through these years, and for some time to come, he largely contributed)."*

With the approach of Winter, Kemper started for home, reaching Philadelphia early in December.

The influence of Kemper's missionary enthusiasm and activity was telling on Bishop White, who only three years before had reported his inability to visit parishes outside of Philadelphia owing to his parochial cares. But now in the "General View of the State of the Church" offered to the General Convention of 1814, we read of Pennsylvania:

"The Venerable head of this diocese has been enabled to visit, during the last two years, some of the country congregations; the happy effects of these visits, are forcibly illustrated by the fact that in 1811, he reported to the convention that during the past year 61 persons had been confirmed; in 1812 he reported that 306 had received this holy rite; in 1813 he announced that during the last year the number amounted to 581."

This report refers to the Bishop in the third person and cites his own words in quotation marks, so we may be reasonably certain that another person wrote it, and that person was probably Jackson Kemper, as he had been Secretary of the Diocese since 1812. It is a most significant document, because it clearly indicates that the great increase in Confirmations noted was due to the visitation of the country parishes, and that the aged bishop was swept into the current of advance in the Church, a current which was at least partially started and largely promoted by the ardent missionary priest, Jackson Kemper.

The good work thus begun continued with unflagging zeal. It was an age when the people of the young growing republic had to be familiarized with the Prayer Book, when the unique positions of the

**White, op. cit. pp. 37-39.*

Church had to be brought to public attention, and their superior value demonstrated. The Advancement Society undertook therefore to distribute tracts and Prayer Books in quantities. Finally in 1823 the Prayer Book Society was merged with the Advancement Society to become a branch of the latter. Vacant parishes were regularly supplied with occasional services by the missionaries of the Society; and new parishes were formed in the northwestern part of the Diocese. It was also a time when many young men were dedicating their lives to the priesthood of the Church.

At the same time (1816) the report of the Diocese of Pennsylvania indicated the creation of a new society for the "express purpose of sending Missionaries into the western states. Under its direction a young clergyman has visited with great success, many parts of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee." This organization was called the Episcopal Missionary Society of Philadelphia. It originated with Bishop White and his associates, notably Mr. Kemper.

Amid all these activities and distractions, Jackson Kemper was attracted to a Miss Jerusha Lyman—the oldest daughter of General William Lyman, a special agent of President Madison in London. After his death his three daughters returned from London and opened a private boarding school which continued to maintain a high reputation in Philadelphia for over a century until its disappearance very recently. Mr. Kemper and Miss Lyman were married in 1816 and spent their honeymoon on Lake George and Lake Champlain. Two years later Mrs. Kemper died, and for the second time in his life a romance ended in sorrow and disappointment. Before her death the Vestry of the United Churches granted their capable young assistant a leave of absence (August, 1818,) to enable him to take Mrs. Kemper south, in hopes that she might regain her health. One thousand dollars of his salary was advanced to him, the balance of his salary to be at his disposal at each current quarter. In order to do this the Vestry sold some of the stock of the Church, an action which shows sufficiently the high esteem in which Mr. Kemper was held by his parishioners.

The Diocesan Convention elected him a delegate to the General Convention of 1817 and continued to do so for the next twelve years or until he left the Diocese. In 1819 he undertook a journey to raise funds for the General Theological Seminary which began instruction that year in New York City under the leadership of Bishop Hobart. The next year, by appointment of the House of Deputies, Kemper became a trustee of the institution. Meanwhile his ceaseless activity and recent sorrow began to affect his health; and again the Vestry

granted him leave of absence for six months (May, 1820,) and paid his salary in advance.

Before enjoying his leave of absence Kemper attended the General Convention of 1820, which met in May of that year in Philadelphia. In addition to being Chairman of the Committee on Rules of Order, he held the following offices: member of the Committee on the State of the Church, chairman of the Committee on Repeal of the First Canon of 1817, chairman of the Committee to make a collection of General Convention and Diocesan Journals and other documents bearing on the history of the Church, member of the Committee to provide funds for the General Convention, member of the committee to superintend the printing of the Journal and Pastoral Letter, trustee of the General Theological Seminary, and one of the Managers of the newly created "Protestant Episcopal Missionary Society in the United States, for Foreign and Domestic Missions."

The movement for the organization of a general missionary society had originated with the Pennsylvania delegation and the resolution had been offered by the Rev. George Boyd of that delegation. The Society was hastily and very imperfectly organized. The Bishops had been left out of it, as was discovered after the Convention adjourned. The special Convention of 1821 corrected this defect, but not some others; in particular, the Church herself was not yet the Missionary Society, the sense of mission residing in the apostolate was not yet realized, and the Society's work was conducted too independently of the Church. Nevertheless it was a beginning in the right direction and immediately throughout the East, auxiliaries to the Society, many of them composed of men, were formed in several dioceses. Interest in the Church's mission was slowly stirring, but the Church as a whole had not yet risen to a sense of her full responsibility.

Having returned from his vacation, restored in health, Kemper renewed his varied activities—parochial, diocesan and missionary. In the fall of 1821 he again married, this time a Miss Ann Relf, of a wealthy Philadelphia family. The bride having at her disposal a liberal allowance, they were able to live comfortably in their home on Fifth Street near Spruce, and there three children were born to them—Elizabeth Marius in 1824, Samuel (1827), and Lewis (1829).

Perpetually active, always filled with missionary zeal, recognized and trusted by the Church in its conventions, Kemper was placed on the Diocesan Committee to arrange for the visitation of vacant parishes by the neighboring clergy. Eighteen parishes, including White-marsh and Reading, were so provided that they could have the services of a clergyman quarterly. He himself visited Hamiltonville, thus

laying the foundations for the present University Church of St. Mary's, Hamilton Village, West Philadelphia.

By this time the Advancement Society had become very much restricted in its activity owing to lack of support. In the hope of increasing the membership, the annual subscription was reduced. It was becoming evident both in the Diocese of Pennsylvania and the Church at large that the missionary society as independently conceived was not the right instrument; that the Church herself through her apostolic ministry must undertake the Church's Mission. The bishops themselves were responsible and the very essence of the episcopal office was to be found in missions. But a decade was still to pass before this conception bore fruit. A step in this direction was now taken by the Church in Pennsylvania. In the Diocesan Convention of 1824, three-fourths of the Convention Fund (which was more than adequate) was appropriated to supply vacant parishes, and Kemper was made Chairman of the Missionary Committee, responsible for the expenditure of those funds.

In the Fall of that year (1824), Bishop White, then in his seventy-seventh year, and Kemper set out on what was the former's first missionary journey beyond the Alleghenies. Unfortunately it was not completed, but the fact that it was undertaken is one of great significance. Let us read the story in the Bishop's own words:

"On the 17th of October I began a journey expected to be of great length, for the consecration of a church in Lewistown, 156 miles from this city, and of sundry churches beyond the mountains; the Rev. Jackson Kemper being with me in the character of missionary from the Missionary Committee of the Convention. On our way on the 19th I preached and held confirmation in the city of Lancaster; and Mr. Kemper performed divine service and preached in the evening and in the evening on the 20th in the Borough of Harrisburg; as he also did on the evening of the next day, in the Borough of Mifflintown. On the forenoon of Saturday the 23d, I preached in the newly erected church in the Borough of Lewistown and Mr. Kemper preached in the afternoon and again in the evening. The next day I consecrated the said church, administering the rite of confirmation & the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper and preaching in the forenoon, Mr. Kemper performing divine service. In the afternoon Mr. Kemper performed divine service & preached.

"On the next morning we set off for the Borough of Huntingdon; but when we reached a short distance from Lewistown our progress was prevented by a fall from a carriage; which caused a simple fracture of my right wrist and several lacerations of my face. Owing to valuable medical assist-

ance gratuitously rendered to me, to the sympathy and good offices of many estimable inhabitants of the town, to the important attentions of my fellow-traveller and to the hastening to me of two members of my own family, I was enabled under the good providence of God to reach my own home on the 15th day from the fall. On the day before our setting off on our return, Mr. Kemper having notified his intention of divine service and a sermon which had also been his occupation twice on the preceding Sunday and some persons having regretted their not availing of themselves of the preceding opportunity of being confirmed, my wounds did not prevent my being again taken to church, my stay there of a few minutes & my again confirming. . . . On our way home, Mr. Kemper performed divine service & preached in Lancaster, morning & evening on Sun. Nov. 7th."

The following Spring (May 30, 1825,) Bishop White, accompanied by Kemper, set out again to undertake the tour which was frustrated in the Fall. In precisely five weeks, 830 miles were traversed. Two days were spent in crossing the mountains from Holydaysburg to Pittsburg. John Henry Hopkins, later Bishop of Vermont, was then rector there. Arriving on a Thursday evening, confirmation was on Friday. The new church edifice was consecrated on Sunday and an additional class confirmed. On these occasions 135 received the laying on of hands. Monday afternoon they left for Beaver, where they arrived Tuesday morning. They left Beaver the afternoon of the same day and were back in Pittsburg by Wednesday afternoon. Another class, the third in six days, was then presented by Mr. Hopkins. The next day, Thursday, the indefatigable missionaries left for Wheeling. Such is the record of the enthusiasm and ardour of the aged Bishop and his capable assistant.

In 1826 another extended trip was undertaken into the Beechwoods in the northeastern part of the State, a journey of 400 miles, from September 25th to October 11th.

The Diocese of Pennsylvania was plunged into a bitter contest over the election of an assistant Bishop in the years 1826 and 1827. The party strife and bickering over points of order which had come to characterize the Pennsylvania Convention were extremely distasteful to Kemper. So much so that he sought for an opportunity to transfer his activities to another diocese. He even refused an opportunity to go to Pittsburg because, while he would thus escape the city, he would still be in the same Convention. He waited five years. During this interval he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from his Alma Mater, Columbia College, in 1829.

At last, through Bishop Brownell of Connecticut, he was called to St. Paul's Church, Norwalk, one of the four larger and more flourish-

ing parishes in that State. With great regret his resignation as Assistant Minister was accepted by the United Churches of Philadelphia, June 1st, 1831. Within a year of his removal to Norwalk he suffered the grievous loss of his wife (1832), after eleven years of happy married life, leaving him with their three young children of the ages of eight, five and three years.

At the first convention of the Diocese of Connecticut which he attended, he conducted the opening service and was made a member of the Standing Committee. Later he became the Secretary of the Convention and Diocesan Trustee of the General Theological Seminary. In three years' time the communicant list of his parish increased fifty per cent, and several missions had been started.

In 1834, Kemper made a journey to Green Bay, Wisconsin, in company with the Rev. Dr. James Milnor, Rector of St. George's Church, New York, to investigate the mission there which was supported by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society. The Mission School had been opened by the Rev. Richard F. Cadle and his sister, Sarah B. Cadle, in 1827. The Mission was popular with the Church but not with the Indians it was intended to help. The French, too, disliked the enterprise, because it was a Protestant mission, and because it did not accord with the fitness of things.

Tired out, with patience gone and health failing, Cadle wrote, June 16, 1832, to the Executive Committee of the Society, begging to be relieved "from a burden by which I am bowed down greatly." In October, the Committee induced him to continue his work on the condition of being more heartily supported by the Society.

On Christmas Eve, 1833, some of the Indian boys had been severely punished and two of them had taken the matter to court. A war in the newspaper followed, Cadle demanded vindication, and the Society's Executive Committee induced Kemper and Milnor to make an investigation on the spot.

Kemper left Norwalk July 3d for New York, where he was joined by Milnor. Journeying by boat to Albany, they there boarded a train for Schenectady, 15 miles distant, transferred to the stage for Buffalo, and, at the latter place, took passage for Green Bay on the "Michigan," a 470-ton boat with two engines of 80-horsepower, capable of making 12 miles per hour. After brief stops at Erie, Cleveland, Detroit and Mackinac Island, they reached Green Bay on July 16th. The cost of passage from Buffalo for each person, including meals, was \$25.00. The following excerpts from Kemper's Journal* are of value as indicating not only conditions, but the

**"Journal of an Episcopal Missionary's Tour to Green Bay, 1834."* . . . Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, R. G. Thwaites, Editor; Vol. XIV, pp. 394-449; Madison, 1898.

qualities of mind and heart and judgment which Kemper was to carry into his Missionary Episcopate:

Met Mr. (Jean Baptiste) Laborde bro of Mrs. Douceman of the R. C. Mission, spoke in plainest terms of the influence of the traders . . . in preventing children from coming to it . . . One of the little girls who has been at the school from the beginning goes to day & came to bid us good bye. She spoke English well but with a foreign, I wld say, a french accent. She is only 12 now, but her Mother who is married again, has a young infant & requires her at home. She leaves here two bros. The girls appear kind and affec(tionate) to each other & attached to their teachers. If we give up this school we not only afford a triumph to its enemies the traders & the R C but we abandon a station of great importance. Is it nothing to have rescued more than 200 ch(ildren) from degradation & vice & ignorance & death—to teach them the arts & feelings of civilized life and the principles of the Gospel? . . . Many of these chld are real Inds born in our ch, but who wld be ignorant of knowledge & our language were it not for this school. And many born heathen exhibit by their conduct & writings an evidence of the Gospel upon their souls. Here, in this mission the Ch is exerting herself & has an opportunity of doing good to heathen. If we give up this, we abandon the only post we have among the heathen. We have more Indian chld here than they have at Macanaw—& the schools of the ch(urch) Miss(ionary) Soc(iety) among the N W Indians are principally composed of the children of white traders. Some of the chld here in 2 yrs have in addition to a knowledge of the language acquired as much school information i. e. made as much progress in spelling, reading, writing, composition, geography, grammar & arithmetic as chld of similar age in the district schools of Conn(ecticut).

Mr. Cadle this morning submitted to our perusal many papers relative to his trials & duties. He has been with a meek & devoted spirit most faithful to all his duties—& his sister has laboured beyond her strength—& they both assure us that for the last 6 mos no persons could be more interested in the welfare of the Mission & ready to spend & be spent in its service than Mr. Gregory & Miss Crawford.* But Mr. C.'s (Cadle's) feelings are too sensitive—we require a man of sterner stuff than he is made of to be at the head of the Mission.

. . . There is much to admire in the school—but it is scarcely comfortable to its inmates—it has been very expensive—the constant cry from Phila has been *more economy*, & in order to obey, & being never in fact beforehand but constantly obliged to get not only goods but money from

*Almon Gregory and Sarah Crawford, teachers at the mission.

the store—the whole economy has been so frugal as to be scarcely comfortable. The barn is good but there is nothing in it—they buy flour & pork by the single barrel—they have not had for weeks any fresh meat. They have no molasses, no indian meal, & but little milk. Much has been done even with the farm, but it is evidently requisite to have a handsome sum of money to be laid out at once for the Mission before it can become comfortable & economical. . . .

(July) 28. Hope deferred makes the heart sick. But I will not murmur or repine. No boat as yet, one however it is supposed will appear today or tomorrow. I long most anxiously to see my little ones—& I desire to say thy will be done. We are detained here I trust for beneficial purposes. Yesterday 27 I officiated in M(orning) at fort—aft(ernoon) at Navarino & 5 oc(lock) at Mission. The band of music, the flags around the wall, the dress & orderly appearance of the soldiers gave a very imposing appearance. The general was present but not his lady who was detained by the sickness of a child.

. . . Dr M(ilnor) & myself took our dinner with Mr. Whitney. He offers to paint the Mission a dark colour like his own house in wh he is now lodging, inside & out, for 350 dollars—will subscribe ten & thinks the Bay people wld give 100.

Mr. Ellis* has returned from surveying, & gives a bad report of the musquitoes. His story of the intended pamphlet—refused admittance in his paper—in Detroit paper—50 dolls paid to Detroit editor—As first offered to him it contained the basest & most malignant insinuations. Is daily expected from D——† thinks it will almost destroy Mr C(adle). Conversed freely with Mr Beall‡ after the 3d service—stated the evidence of the boys (the disgrace attached to a crop arises from the military custom).

The assertion of Pouquette in conversation with Mr. C(adle) Mr C almost crazy when informed of Conduct of boys—left the whipping pretty much to judgment of assistants. Mr C violent passions—wished Smith to commence a suit—instigated the paper controversy, persuaded Beall to write. The Mission might be better managed & at 1/3 less—the buildings shd have cost 1/3 less. Smith cleared 1100, Olds 800 (dollars). Mr C(adle) too honourable & not able to contend with crafty men. The destitution of horses, carriage, food &c—the payment sometimes of 20 dolls a barrel for pork, all wrong. Mr B's wife speaks highly of Mr Garvin's qualities. Mr B, highest opinion of integrity, purity

*Andrew G. Ellis had been an assistant at the Mission. At this time, he was proprietor of the Green Bay "Intelligencer."

†From documents published, Joseph Dickinson appears to have been the author of this pamphlet attack on Cadle.

‡Samuel W. Beall was one of the vestrymen of Christ Church parish at Green Bay.

& piety of Mr C—at same time is sensible of his faults, wishes this conversation to be secret. Mr B thinks Dr M(ilnor) and myself shd investigate the late affair.

I am this morning (28) much fatigued with preaching, heat, mosquitoes &c. We are apparently to have another warm day. My neck, ears, legs & body yet show marks of the Grand Kakalin expedition. . . .

29. (July). Big Wave an old chief of the Menominees with a few other Menos & 2 Chippeways from Sturgeon Bay, came to the house with Col Boyd* & Richard Prickett U. S. Interpreter. Dr M(ilnor) addressed them concerning the school & the advantages of sending their chld to it & ag(ainst) intemperance. Big Wave with a regimental coat & a large medal of Washington was the principal speaker on the other side. The chiefs seated themselves on the floor evidently not knowing the use of chairs, & were much attracted by the clock. B(ig) W(ave) & 2 others well dressed . . . & have abandoned drunkenness. One poor fellow, said to drink, & badly dressed, with his face painted black, was eloquent & affected. They promised their endeavours to persuade their people to send their children—acknowledged the advantages of education—alluded to our differen(ce) of colour as an intimation from the Alm(igh)ty that we were designed for different stations & employments—blamed the whites for the introduction of whiskey wh is destroying the Indians & which they cannot resist—& said that the first whites they were acquainted with did not sell them rum (the french)—the British sold them some but not much—but the Amers will sell it to them as long as they have any furs. Dr M gave them from the store room some red flannel & cotton &c as presents—we shook hands, & separated. Prickett the Inter(preter) was taken a prisoner when a boy 14 yrs old in what is now called Green County, Penn & taken to the present Chilicothe, Ohio, by the Stockbridges. He in time found his way to Mac & was 20 yrs in fur com(pany). Has gone from (Grand) Portage of Lake Superior to Montreal in bark canoe in 6 days, 14 rowers, bark canoe, carrying 3 tons. Is said to be a boaster—married first a Chip & then a Menom. Living near Col Boyd's, like an Indian.

Mr C(adle) stated to me that his own taste & judgment wld have led him to settle himself as a Missy in the midst of the Indians, but that here he had been obliged to act in obedience of orders,—the plan of the school, its location &c were settled by the Ex(ecutive) Com(mittee).

28 A long visit from Mr Beall. He is anxious we shd enter into a scrutiny of the late affair, thinks the honor of the Mission & the credit of Mr C demands it. It is known that Mr C demanded an investigation; if we go away without holding one it will be said by the R. C. that we were

*Col. George Boyd, U. S. Indian Agent at Green Bay.

afraid to do so. Dr M(ilynor) on the contrary says we have no authority to enter into an impartial inquiry, to summon witnesses &c—that we ought to let the subject sleep if possible as it is too delicate for public discussion—that we have the full & decided opinion of all the respectable inhabitants of the excellency of Mr C's character & the correctness of the punishment, & that the whole affair is the effect of malignity, & ingratitude. . . . Nothing but necessity shd compel us to bring it before the public—for then it will be seen acc(ording) to the rules of the house, the boys were too old to be whipped & that the cutting off the hair was not authorized—and some wld say if there had been a teacher sleeping in the room with the chld, as there ought to have been, this sad affair cld not have happened. Mr C asserts, justly I think, that with respect to the punishment, there was no provision in the laws for such a crime, it was not to be thot of, & was therefore acc(ording) to the right of every parent (as he viewed himself) or master, to be punished in an unusual way—I think that the statement of the assistants Gregory, Smith & Groom who denounced the crime & punished it—and of Beall and others who were present shd be put on paper.

This mornng 5 Oneida boys ran away. One of whom had run away twice before since we have been here. We want these Oneidas because they are full bloods, & yet it will not I think do to go in pursuit of them every time. Ought we not to threaten they shall not come back—or at least write to the Chiefs & solicit their interference to induce the parents when they run home to whip them & send them immediately back.

Col. Boyd thinks the sickly appearance of many of the children is owing to the salt pork of wh they almost live.

Mr. Groom goes today with two hired men & one of the boys near to the little Kakalin about 9 miles off to cut hay from an Oneida prairie, permission having been obtained from the Chfs for that purpose.

Cobus Hill brot to day the Oneida P. B. (Prayer Book) to be reprinted in N York. Dr. M promised his aid. I will propose this plan to Bp O(nderdonk) for his two C(ommon) P(ayer) Book Soct—offer a premium of say 500 dolls for the best translation of the whole P B in the Oneida—and print an edition of the best translation that is offered.

Spent aft & took tea at Col. B. with Mr C. Col agrees in the impropriety of further investigation, & thinks the testimonial signed by himself & others* sufficient to cover the whole ground—will make exertions to collect the Menos

**This appeared in the Green Bay "Intelligencer" for February 19, 1834, and was signed by Col. Boyd, the Indian Agent, General Brooke and six other Army Officers and twelve other citizens of the town. It stated their "entire approval of his conduct" and bore "testimony to the zeal and unremitting labor with which Mr. Cadle has at all times during the term of his agency in this establishment discharged his arduous and irksome duties."*

of the neighbourhood tomorrow at 10 oc(lock) at the Mission for Dr M. to address—is willing to add something to Mr. C's statement conc(erning) the benefits wh have resulted from the school.

A little Menomonee boy who had been wandering about the house with his parents came to school to day as a day scholar—his mother cannot part with him at night. He will probably however get all his meals here. A suit of clothes was given him & he was sent behind the barn, he soon appeared with the clothes on & the old blanket wrapt around him. This I believe is the boy who said a few days since in answer to Mr Labord's question Why he did not come to the school, That there they whipt too much.

. Conversed with Ellis concerning the Mission, Mr C, Mr. Suydam and the late difficulties. Mr C has laboured most faithfully, but perhaps not exactly calculated for the difficulties of the station.

21. The Dr or myself lead in morn(g) & even(ing) worship in the fam(ily). We assemble in school house at 6 & at 7½. The Psalter, a hymn & then prayers, principally from Cotterill. I am looking over the papers we brot, the laws, & the list of students—Dr M is preparing the report.

. The morn(g) of this day before we left the Mission was devoted to an examination of the girls school. It was very satisfactory. Girls who have been here two yrs only & who when they came knew not a word of English or a letter now equal in school learning girls of the same age in our District Schools in Conn. Some recited Murrays Eng Grammar, Olneys Geo(graphy), Colburns Arith—read, spelled & wrote well. They appear obedient to Mr. Crawford & affectionate to each other.

We must buy some books for those children who have washed for us &c.

22. We assembled in ch(urch) at 10 oc. The people pressed to it until all seats were occupied & more benches had to be brot in. The men on one side the women on the other. About 10 infants in their peculiar cradles were kept in excellent order. Cobus Hill read part of the Service in Mohawk, & hymns in that language were sung from books prepared by Methodists. The whole audience quiet & very solemn in their deportment. Mr C(adle) read Com(munion) Ser(vice)—Dr. M(ilnor) preached—then I said a few words from C H's (Cobus Hill's) reading desk on Lord's Supper—what we said was interpreted sentence by sentence by John Smith, born among them, but apparently the son of a negro by an Indian woman. John interpreted boldly but we fear not correctly. The Lords Supper was then adm(inistered) to 69—say 3 Chi(ldren), 3 visitors (Dr S, Mr Suydam & Methodist School teacher) & ten Methodists, leaving 53 Com(municants) of the ch. After the Com(munion) Dr M read Bp O(nderdonk)'s letter & addressed

the Os (Oneidas) on various subjects & particularly Temperance. Between one & two we went to the Parsonage, examining by the way the Cradles, one of wh had a profusion of silk shawls &c. The 9 chiefs came to us & delivered an address as an answer to Bp O's letter &c wh address was very poorly interpreted by Smith. To this Dr. M replied. Hill then thro Smith gave us an acc(ount) of the Coms (?) & of a temperance Socty (See report) and we all 8 chiefs C Hill, & Methodist teacher sat down to dinner consisting of 2 dishes of pork & beans, 2 chicken pies, squashes, potatoes, peas & rice pudding afterwards. Rather a deficiency of seats, spoons & tumblers—but upon the whole did admirably. Shook hands aff(ectionate)ly with all & started at 5 as we came.

23. . . . In the morning of this day we ex(amin)ed the school of the boys—were gratified—some passed—many ac(quoted) with Geogra(phy)—many wrote—but five of the present in arith—but boys have gone thro here with Dabolls & have commenced surveying, Nat Philoso &c. Dr. M ex(amin)ed in the Cat(echism). None have been sent away—but their friends were requested to take them. Presumptive evidence that the house was set on fire by some of those who were punished.

25. Wrote a letter to Mrs. Relf* wh goes of course by Galena. I hope I will get home before it—for it may be weeks in going—yet by writing I relieve at least for the time my anxiety about my precious ones at home. . . .

30. Wrote up journal this morning. Examined the pupils of the girls school upon the ch(urch) cat(echism), Scrip(ture), & hymns—& was much gratified. . . .

31. No schooner in sight now, the report of yesterday referred to a boat going to a Mill. It is now 4 weeks since I left my own dear home & precious children. About this time I expected to be there again, & here I am at the farthest distance from Norwalk, with no prospect for more than a fortnight yet of returning! God's will be done. Dr M is going on with his report. . . .

Pishe was considered all but dying yesterday—but is now better. She will not talk about religion but assents to proper questions. She is of course childish & occasionally fretful. . . . I have received from Miss Cadle a little indian cradle &c for Lill†, & a bundle of bark, a canoe & an indian hat. . . . The 39 scholar admitted as a boarder into the school 13 Jany 1831 a full menominee, Makkemetas was named Jackson Kemper. His fathers name was Kakononequut. He was to be supported for 6 years. He deserted Oct 4, 1831.

Mr. Cadles donations to the Mission to June 2d 1834 including 2 yrs salary (\$400 per ann) amount to \$1087.47½.

*His wife's mother, who was taking care of his children.

†Pet name for his daughter, Elizabeth, then aged 10.

The day after we came here we drew the following orders.
viz. for

Almon Gregory for 6 mos to May 7/34.....	\$125
Sarah Crawford do April 16/34.....	75
Leonard Groom do do 24/34.....	150
John Smith in full at rate of \$250 per ann.....	66.70

. . . Among other papers Mr C has shown me one containing a statement of the boarding children admitted into the school by Roman Catholic parents or guardians & who have been gratuitously taught, clothed & supported. The support of a child is estimated at \$40 per ann, clothing 20, instruction 8—no charge for medical attendance or buildings. The period included is from Oct. 25-29 to Janu 15-34. The result is, 148 years, 11 mos & 10 days at rate of \$68 per ann=\$10,128 22-100.

. . . Yesterday I thought & dreamt much of home & of Annest.* How great the loss! How vivid the recollection! Mr. Ellis spoke of her beauty & appearance & said she was the most youthful woman to be the mother of children he had ever met with.

. . . I asked Mr. Beall to put on paper his recollections of Mr. Cadle's trial. This I consider a necessary caution against accidents.

I have finished reading this day Gutzlaff's voyages along the coast of china p. p. 332. My want of facility in acquiring languages, my actual ignorance of every language except my own, my young & motherless children, my age—would it appears to me unfit me for the important & sacred station of being at the head of a Mission to china. I must write to Mr E. Newton† to this effect. The door apparently opening is wonderful. G(utzlaff) considers the inhabitants of China at 362 Millions 1/3 of the people of the earth.

3. Dr M. complaining, will not leave the mission today. He has devoted himself for some days past to the report, & finished it yesterday. Yesterday was exceedingly sultry—today it will probably be as much so—I have three services before me.

5. Aug tuesday 11 oc a.m. I am now in Lake Michigan on board the Sheldon Thompson steam boat on my way home. God be praised! Let me bring up my journal to the present. . . . There has been today a melancholy display of Indians in Nav(arino). Many wild Menominees

*A pet name for his deceased wife.

†Mr. Edward A. Newton, a layman of Massachusetts, prominent in the General Conventions and ardent in the missionary cause. In 1833 he offered to be one of forty to give \$100 each to pay an indebtedness upon the buildings at Green Bay, which should be a token of gratitude to Bishop White. In May, 1834, he again came forward with a motion, "That the Board establish a Mission in China, as soon as suitable missionary or missionaries can be found to occupy such station." Undoubtedly, in view of his zeal for this project, he had sounded Kemper out as to the possibility of his heading such a Mission. Here in Kemper's Journal we have his answer and the reasons for it.

fantastically dressed were about—but the Oneidas who have just arrived* were met most imprudently by their friends from Duck Creek & a scene of great intoxication and degradation ensued. The new comers were considerably civilized—had been industrious and frugal at home, & some had brot with them considerable sums of money i. e. a few hundred dollars. They were well, prettily, & neatly dressed—the women with men's hats ornamented with ribbons &c. But whiskey was cheap & plenty—& too many fell victims to its direful effects. I saw a man holding an infant in a cradle knock his wife prostrate twice—others rolling in the sand unable to rise. The whiskey was generally got I suppose from the shanties near Smiths. Crawford came down with the intention of hastening their departure to Duck Creek. They are all or most all professing Methodists. Happy wld it have been for them could they have been induced to travel with their goods today instead of spending the day in this awful manner. Not one at ch—Crawford attended all my services. 400 (dollars) were paid for the transportation or carrying of 110 Oneidas (Men, women & chld) from Buffalo to G(reen) B(ay). . . . There is by a law of the Territory a fine of 200 dolls for selling ardent spirits to Indians—& yet it cannot be enforced for magistrates, traders & it is said all the french besides others will sell to them—& consequently no jury would convict a man of this crime. . . .

. . . Milnor read our report to the Mission family—all, & particularly C(adle) & his sister appeared to approve of it.

. . . All parties appear to be unanimous in the opinion that the Indians are injured on all sides. The government, the army, the traders, the agents (& the Missionaries to a certain extent) accuse each other. Many agents appear to prey upon them & have grown rich. The Government forces them to give up land wh it the Gov does not want. Some conscientious officers assert that traders have come within musket shot of their forts & sold without reserve, & that they cannot obtain from Gov the authority necessary to repress their efforts & drive the traders away. . . .

All unknowing, Mr. Kemper was experiencing at first hand such problems as he would have to deal with during his Episcopate of thirty-five years. It has not been possible to quote all of his Journal on this tour, filled as it is with interesting events and people whom he met along the way. But enough has been given to show the quality of his mind—his keen observation, his passion for the facts, his standards of judgment. And all sorts and conditions of men

**A part of the Oneidas of New York, who were shipped to Wisconsin by the general government.*

talked readily with him, finding in him a kindly and sympathetic friend. From a fur trader of thirty years experience—Rolet—he heard on the return trip to Buffalo a great deal about the Sioux Indians, who also were to be within his jurisdiction before fifteen months had passed. Without storm or accident, he reached Buffalo on August 9th and Norwalk on the 16th, glad to be once more in his own home with his beloved children.

From this period a brief letter has come down to us* which is very revealing. The recipient is unknown, probably some bookseller who forwarded some literature to be put on sale at a parish bazaar:

Norwalk, 11 Jan'y 1834

My dear Sir

Hoping to be in New York on the 13th inst. I kept the books which remained after the fair intending to take them with me & thus save some expense. But the sickness of some of my parishioners particularly the mother of your neighbour Mr. Jarvis, will prevent me from leaving here for some time. I shall therefore send the boxes to the steam boat on Monday Morning. The sales were as great as I expected. Had you known the people you would not have sent as many books as you did. And by the bye they were not packed quite as well as they ought to have been. I am two miles from the landing—& Sangatuck is three miles beyond me. I have placed in the boxes two of the three copies of Mant which remained on hand. The other copy, with all the balances I hope to give you in a few days. I return two of the books you sent me—as it was not Paley but Gisbornes answer to Paley—& not Mrs. Somerville's Preliminary Discourse to her work on the Heavens, but the work itself, that I wanted.

In haste dear Sir Truly Yrs.

Jackson Kemper.

Here we read the style of a man of action, correct, concise, abbreviated. Particular and careful of little details and economical in very little ways; well acquainted with his people, he did not expect over much; faithful to his pastoral trust, he would not leave his parish while there was a sick woman to care for; at all times he was continuing his theological studies and persuading others to become interested in such studies. This was the kind of man—a faithful pastor, a studious priest, a lover of people and of adventure for Christ—whom the Church needed and whom she chose to become the Apostle of the Northwest.

*Now in the possession of William Ives Rutter, Jr., of Philadelphia.

A TURNING POINT: THE GENERAL CONVENTION OF 1835

By Walter Herbert Stowe

ANYONE reading some of the older histories of the American Episcopal Church would never suppose that the General Convention of 1835 was a turning point in this Church's history and that it ushered in the third epoch of its independent existence. Yet a little reflection on the results which flowed from it clearly reveals that if the period from 1790 to 1811 was one of "suspended animation," and if the period from 1811 to 1835 was one of strengthening the stakes, the era beginning with 1835 was one of lengthening the cords.

The needs and demands of the rapidly growing West dominated every major problem facing this convention. In this, ecclesiastical concerns were but paralleling the political, economic and social affairs of the nation. In 1835 the West was in the saddle of national politics, holding the balance of power between the capitalistic Northeast and the planting South. Andrew Jackson, idol of the frontier, was nearing the end of his second term. The political issues of his administration were the tariff, nullification, the Bank, internal improvements and the disposal of western lands. The solution of these questions reflected largely the wishes of the farmers, mechanics and laborers of the country with Jackson as their Sir Galahad. Coupled with these problems or flowing from them, revolutionary changes in transportation were coming to pass. The Erie Canal was already in operation. Baltimore, alarmed at the diversion of trade which the canal threatened, chartered the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad which, in 1830, had reached fourteen miles west of Baltimore and in the same year experimented successfully with "Tom Thumb," the first steam locomotive. It was the beginning of a development which was to blanket the country from East to West with a network of railroads.

THE GREAT MIGRATION

The settlement of the West was one of the greatest migrations of history. Even before the end of the War of Independence, people

were moving over the mountains. The first general census of 1790 found 4,000,000 people in the United States, of whom five per cent, or about 200,000, were living west of the mountains. The following table will indicate how rapid was the subsequent growth:

	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
New York.....	340,120	589,051	959,049	1,372,812	1,918,608	2,428,921
Pennsylvania..	434,373	602,365	810,091	1,049,458	1,348,233	1,724,033
Ohio.....		45,365	230,760	581,434	937,903	1,519,467
Indiana.....		5,641	24,520	147,178	343,031	685,866
Illinois.....			12,282	55,211	157,445	476,183
Michigan.....			4,762	8,896	31,639	212,267
Missouri.....			19,783	66,586	140,455	383,702
Kentucky.....	73,677	220,955	406,511	564,317	687,917	779,828
Tennessee.....	35,691	105,602	261,727	422,823	681,904	829,210
Alabama.....				127,901	309,527	590,756
Mississippi....		8,850	40,352	75,448	136,621	375,651
Louisiana.....			76,556	153,407	215,739	352,411

From 1790 to 1808, the heaviest emigration was from Virginia, Maryland and the Carolinas into Kentucky and Tennessee, because the hard times following the war continued in the South, whereas in the North the movement was checked by the return of better times due to the restoration of credit and the renewal of the West Indian trade. As a result, Kentucky was admitted into the Union as a State in 1792, Tennessee in 1796, and Ohio in 1802.

Beginning with the passage of the Embargo in 1808, the steady stream of the westward movement became a flood from out of the North as well as the South. Nothing like it had ever been seen before and it continued with little interruption until the return of better times in the East about 1820.

The older States, except New York and Pennsylvania, became alarmed at the great loss of population and the fourth census (1820) did not calm their fears. New York had become the most populous state in the Union, Ohio ranked fifth, and Kentucky sixth. In 1821 the total number of states was twenty-five, of which twelve were new; and of the twelve new states, ten were west of the Alleghanies.

PERSONNEL OF THE CONVENTION

When, on August 19, 1835, the General Convention convened in Philadelphia, the westward tide showed no signs of ebbing. The four major problems demanding action were essentially western in their nature. First, Illinois, without waiting to be admitted as a diocese, had elected a resigned bishop as its diocesan—Philander Chase. Second, the Diocese of New York, truly an empire now due to the filling up of its western territory, had grown beyond the administrative reach of a single bishop and division was imperative.

Third, the West, without the means of support, was demanding more bishops. Fourth, the missionary organization was sadly defective and utterly unable to meet its responsibilities.

Who were the men delegated to solve these problems? The House of Bishops had fourteen in attendance. The Nestor of the House was of course William White, first Bishop of Pennsylvania and Presiding Bishop. He was now eighty-seven years of age and fifty years before (then a Presbyter), he had been President of the *first* General Convention of 1785, and was the sole survivor of that convention. First Presiding Bishop in the great Convention of 1789, he held that office in fifteen other General Conventions, and that continuously after 1795. The Convention of 1835 was destined to be his last, for he died July 17, 1836.

The other bishops were: A. V. Griswold of the Eastern Diocese, Richard Channing Moore of Virginia, Philander Chase of Illinois, Thomas C. Brownell of Connecticut, Henry U. Onderdonk of Pennsylvania, William Meade of Virginia, William M. Stone of Maryland, Benjamin T. Onderdonk of New York, John Henry Hopkins of Vermont, Benjamin B. Smith of Kentucky, Charles P. McIlvaine of Ohio, George Washington Doane of New Jersey, and James Hervey Otey of Tennessee.

The House of Deputies was composed of sixty-three clerical and fifty-one lay deputies. The President was the Rev. William E. Wyatt, D.D., Rector of St. Paul's Church, Baltimore. Elected President of the House of Deputies in 1829, he held that office continuously for eight conventions, including that of 1850.

Eight of the clerical deputies were destined for the Episcopate, and one, Francis L. Hawks of New York, was elected at this convention First Bishop of the Southwest, but declined. Christopher E. Gadsden of South Carolina later became Fourth Bishop of South Carolina (1840-1852); Nicholas H. Cobbs of Virginia, First Bishop of Alabama (1844-1861); Carlton Chase of Vermont, Second Bishop of New Hampshire (1844-1870); George Upfold of Pennsylvania, First Diocesan of Indiana (1849-1872); Samuel Bowman of Pennsylvania, Assistant Bishop of Pennsylvania (1858-1861); Leonidas Polk of Tennessee, First Bishop of the Southwest, 1838, and First Diocesan of Louisiana (1841-1864); Thomas F. Davis of North Carolina, Fifth Bishop of South Carolina (1853-1871); John Johns of Maryland, Fourth Bishop of Virginia (1842-1876); and Samuel A. McCoskry, not a member of the House but Assistant Secretary, First Bishop of Michigan (1836-1878). The Secretary of the House, the Rev. Henry Anthon, was an Assistant Minister of Trinity Church, New York, and a lecturer in the General Theological Seminary.

THE STATE OF THE CHURCH

The Report of the State of the Church submitted to the House of Bishops by the House of Deputies comprises thirty pages of the Convention Journal. It is illuminating and dominantly optimistic. In the nineteen dioceses the clergy numbered 763, an increase of 171 over 1832, and the communicants 36,416, an increase of 5,477 for the triennium. One hundred and twenty-three churches had been consecrated, compared with 85 reported the previous triennium. Ordinations totaled 333, of whom 197 were deacons and 136 priests, an increase of 122. Candidates for Orders numbered 165, an increase of 31. Confirmations for some reason showed a loss—10,277 in 1835, compared with 10,836 in 1832.

The Church in New England, except Connecticut and Vermont, was included in the Eastern Diocese, the only federated diocese the American Church has ever had. Maine reported 5 ministers, 5 churches, 167 communicants, and an urgent need of clergy in the cities of Portland, Bangor and Augusta. New Hampshire listed 9 congregations, 6 clergy and 380 communicants. Massachusetts, with its 37 parishes, 38 ministers and 1,783 communicants, felt "a peculiar cause of thanksgiving in the apparent advance of true godliness with the distinctive principles of the Church, and in the peace and harmony which prevails in her parishes and her councils." In Rhode Island "the progress of the Church since the last General Convention cannot fail to awaken gratitude." The congregations had doubled from 8 to 16 and the clergy had increased from 10 to 18, of whom 9 were missionaries. Five church edifices had been built and one was building; the communicants numbered 1,340, and the record of ordinations was 10 deacons and 5 presbyters. "The two churches in Providence are each educating a young man for the ministry; together they sustain a missionary in Illinois; and they have now at their disposal the means to support an additional missionary in their own State. . . . The increased activity and success of the Church in this State is to be ascribed, under God, to the *vision and co-operation of the clergy in the missionary cause.*"

In Vermont, "since the consecration of its Bishop at the last General Convention, the Church in this Diocese has gained much strength," but there was a "lamentable want of ministers." The Diocese had 18 clergy, 30 organized parishes, 1,000 communicants, 6 churches consecrated since 1832, 7 deacons and 7 priests ordained.

Connecticut reported steady progress, the number of the clergy having increased from 65 to 80, the communicants numbering 5,082, 16 new parishes had been organized, 11 churches consecrated, 16

deacons and 13 priests had been ordained in the triennium, and there were 20 candidates for Holy Orders. The prosperity of the Church was ascribed to the diligence of the clergy in Bible classes, weekly lectures, Sunday School instruction, and an awakened interest in missions. Washington (Trinity) College, "the first Episcopal college established in this country," was continuing to supply the ranks of the ministry.

New York had made the most amazing progress of all. The State and the Church had profited by the western migration, the population of the former being well over 2,000,000 in 1835. The number of clergy had jumped from 128 in 1829 to 161 in 1832, and now (1835) totaled 194. Parishes had increased in six years from 163 to 214. Communicants had increased seventy-five per cent, from 5,556 in 1829 to 9,738 in 1835. Baptisms and confirmations for the three preceding years were many, 6,082 of the former and 2,487 of the latter. Forty churches had been consecrated during the triennium; 54 deacons and 32 priests had been ordained; the Diocese had 47 candidates for Holy Orders, 61 missionaries employed by the Diocese, and 7,616 Sunday School scholars. The report added: "There has been no period in the past history of the Diocese when it has been more prosperous."

New Jersey, not possessing unsettled lands as did New York and Pennsylvania, enjoyed a much slower growth than its neighbors. In 1830, with 320,823 people, it was not much larger than Alabama, less than Indiana, one-half that of Kentucky or Tennessee, and one-third that of Ohio. The Diocese, which included the whole state, had 32 clergy, an increase of seventy-five per cent since 1832; 35 organized parishes, and 908 communicants. Yet 516 had been confirmed during the triennium and that was over twice the number reported for any previous three-year period. The missionary spirit was aroused and the receipts for missions during the previous year were nearly equal to the total received in the preceding seven years. Four parishes had been organized and church building was extensive.

Pennsylvania, blessed with two bishops and 77 other ministers, reported 86 parishes (14 more than in 1832); 27 candidates for Holy Orders (of whom 11 were in the General Theological Seminary); 12 new churches received into union with the Diocesan Convention; 17 churches consecrated and 7 enlarged and improved; 3,623 communicants, 90 Sunday Schools, 658 teachers, 4,953 pupils, and "abundant cause for thankfulness."

Delaware was described as in a "condition of advancing prosperity" with 6 clergymen but no bishop; 355 communicants and 610 catechumens; and possessing "evidences of the presence of that

quickeningspirit which is awakening the American Church to vigorous action in the Redeemer's Cause."

In Maryland, "nothing had transpired requiring special note," although the population of Baltimore had doubled without the addition of a single new Episcopal Church. The Diocese had 66 clergymen but needed more and was having difficulty in securing a sufficient number. There were 3,006 communicants and 4 missionaries employed by the Diocesan Missionary Society.

In Virginia, "the Church was steadily improving," its borders gradually extending, and most of the old parishes had been revived. There were 71 ministers, an increase of 16 since 1832, and 3,500 communicants; 14 new churches had been consecrated; 46 deacons and 22 priests had been ordained, and the Diocese had 19 candidates for the ministry. The Theological Seminary of Virginia had "not disappointed expectations," two buildings with accommodations for 60 students had been completed, and that number had attended during the previous three years, of which number 36 had been ordained. The Church in Virginia was giving "special regard to the spiritual necessities of the colored population." *The Southern Churchman* had in that very year begun its first hundred years.

North Carolina had "peculiar grounds of anxiety" in the illness of Bishop Ives, who was "in Europe in the pursuit of health." The Diocese had 23 clergy and 1,150 communicants. Since 1832, 5 new churches had been consecrated, 4 others were being built, and ordinations totaled 7 deacons and 7 priests. A school had been established with strong hopes for its future. Congregations of colored people had been organized in most of the parishes and they received regular ministrations from the clergy.

South Carolina reported 38 organized congregations, 6 being without ministers; 43 clergy, an increase of 7 over 1832; 5 churches consecrated and 2 ready for consecration; 2,226 communicants, of whom 507 were colored. The Church had suffered by the rapid emigration from the state and from the loss by fire of the venerable St. Philip's Church building and St. Stephen's Chapel. The report was especially laudable in that "increasing attention was being shown to the Christianizing of slaves," the religious and charitable societies were active and doing efficient work, and Sunday Schools were operating in 21 churches with 213 teachers and 1,853 scholars, of whom 787 were colored. *The Gospel Messenger*, one of the oldest monthly periodicals, was still conducted by ministers of the Church.

Georgia had 6 clergymen, 5 congregations, 160 families, 264 communicants, 27 Sunday School teachers, 170 scholars, and one candidate for Holy Orders. The "rubrics and canons were punctually

observed" and they were praying for a bishop, which prayer was not to be granted for six more years.

"In regard to the state of the Diocese of Ohio, it is one of steady growth and unexampled promise." The clergy numbered 31; parishes, 46; communicants, 1,164; and Sunday School scholars, 2,600. The increase in the clergy roll was 14 and that of the parishes 6. Nine missionaries were employed by the Diocesan Missionary Society and three by the General Missionary Society. A comparatively new and western diocese, it could boast of 11 candidates for Holy Orders and 10 of these were in Kenyon College. Eleven churches had been consecrated, 6 were ready for consecration, and 10 were in progress of building or about to be commenced. Both the Theological Seminary and Kenyon College had gained in organization and equipment. Some \$40,000 had been recently expended in various improvements. "Laborers only are needed, under God, speedily to build up congregations, and establish permanently the principles and usages of primitive Christianity."

Kentucky was especially happy over its prospect. Since 1832, the number of clergy had increased from 9 to 14; there were 7 organized parishes; 265 communicants; 4 candidates for Holy Orders; 9 theological students; 2 churches in course of erection and preparations were being made for 2 others. Kentucky also had its theological seminary with a "most eligible range of buildings in the city of Lexington." The Bishop had called the attention of the clergy to the spiritual condition of the colored population and the importance of their adequate religious instruction. When the clergy took him at his word, the Mayor of Lexington requested them "to desist from such a dangerous proceeding" as to teach slaves to *read*. They might be mobbed! The clergy therefore adopted the method of conveying religious instruction to the colored people by means of pictures! Where there is a will, there is a way!

Mississippi, without a bishop, had been visited the preceding winter by Bishop Otey of Tennessee. He had confirmed 40 at Trinity Church, Natchez, and reported a grievous want of ministers.

Tennessee was now completely organized by the consecration of James Hervey Otey as Bishop on January 14, 1834. The 14 congregations represented an increase of 5 since 1832. The clergy roll consisted of the Bishop, 6 presbyters and 6 deacons. Leonidas Polk was one of the presbyters. One church had been consecrated, another was ready, and a third was being erected. Wisely and courageously the parishes had freed the Bishop of parochial ties and supported him by an assessment upon themselves. They also felt that their

prospects were encouraging, but they also sorely needed ministers; and a seminary seemed essential to recruit and train them.

Alabama had had a tremendous increase of population from 127,901 in 1820 to 309,527 in 1830; in 1835 it was probably 400,000. They boasted of the "fertility of the soil, and the salubrity of its climate" and protested the "erroneous opinion" prevailing in the North and East "that the unhealthy climates of the Southern States render them literally graveyards." The Church in Alabama had 7 parishes, 3 clergymen, 61 communicants, and 3 Sunday Schools. Bishop Brownell of Connecticut had visited the Diocese, presided at the Diocesan Convention at Tuscaloosa January 19, 1835, consecrated the local church and confirmed, and had visited the Mobile parish and confirmed. Two new churches had been admitted into union with the Convention and two others organized. Two clergymen had been received and two had left!

Michigan was organized as a diocese in 1832 and in May, 1834, placed itself under the supervision of the Bishop of Ohio. He had made one visitation and confirmed in St. Paul's Church, Detroit; St. Peter's, Tecumseh; and Trinity, Monroe. At the Diocesan Convention of June, 1835, the Rev. Henry J. Whitehouse, Rector of St. Luke's Church, Rochester, New York (and later Second Bishop of Illinois: 1851-1874), was elected Bishop of Michigan, but he declined. The report enumerated 8 clergymen, 10 organized parishes, and about 200 communicants. Three church buildings existed and a fourth was under way.

The Church in Illinois had organized itself at a Convention in Peoria, March 9, 1835, and had elected Philander Chase, who in 1831 had resigned as Bishop of Ohio, as Bishop of the new diocese. At the time of organization Illinois had some 200,000 people; in another five years it was to have nearly half a million. Yet less than a year before the first diocesan convention there was but one clergyman in the whole state. The clergy staff at the time of the General Convention consisted of the Bishop, 4 presbyters and 2 deacons, 4 of whom were employed by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society. Six parishes had been organized in the most important towns, but only one church building had been completed. The communicants in 4 parishes numbered 39; Sunday School scholars in 3 parishes, 58. "The tide of emigration to Illinois is immense," a large German Protestant population being part of it. These were lacking ministers of their own, and they were well disposed towards the Episcopal Church, but "prompt and energetic action is requisite" in sending ministers and in translating the Prayer Book into German.

In the training of the clergy to man the posts of the Church's

opportunity, the General Theological Seminary was an important factor. The report of the Trustees to the General Convention revealed that, since the Seminary's establishment in 1817, 250 students had entered its doors; of these, 17 had graduated in June, 34 were Middlers, and 29 Juniors. The alumni totaled 90, and the Society of Associate Alumni had been formed. The average annual expenses of a student were \$80.50, including board, washing, fuel and lights, rooms being rent free. The budget for the coming academic year had been fixed at \$8,670.00, of which Professors Turner and Wilson were to receive as salaries \$1,500 each; Professor Moore, \$750; and Dr. Hawks and Dr. Anthon were to teach without pay. A deficit of \$3,061 would still exist and would have to be met. Entrance requirements had been lately raised; the library consisted of 4,071 volumes; a new building to cost \$32,000 was in process of construction; \$7,500 had been added to scholarship funds; and sixteen lots had been added to the Seminary property by filling in the Hudson River. Mr. Peter G. Stuyvesant had founded the "St. Mark's in the Bowery" Professorship of Church History in the sum of \$25,000. The total cost of Seminary buildings, furniture and improvements to real estate since its organization amounted to \$58,593.60. The total of the Seminary endowment, exclusive of real estate, was \$68,164.11, of which sum \$21,646.22 represented scholarship funds.

IN BEHALF OF CHURCH HISTORY

Intensely concerned as this Convention was with the present and future of the Church, it yet took time to give due consideration to the past. A valuable precedent had been set by the General Convention of 1820 which had appointed a joint committee consisting of Bishop White and the Rev. Messrs. George Boyd and Jackson Kemper, all of Pennsylvania, "to make a collection of the Journals of the General Conventions, and of the several Diocesan Conventions, and of other important documents connected with the history of the Church in the United States." This Committee reported to the Convention of 1823, stating that they had been "enabled to collect the greater part of the documents they were required to obtain, which they have deposited in the library of St. James' Church, Philadelphia, under the care of the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania." They submitted two lists, one showing the journals and other valuable papers obtained, for which they were almost entirely indebted to Bishop White, including: (1) An account in MS of the first meetings of Committees for organizing the Church; (2) A collection in writing from the records of the office of the Bishop

of London, relative to the Church in this country, copied by the Rev. Alexander Murray and given by him to Bishop White; (3) The only entire collection of original Journals of General Convention, then known to be extant, from 1785 to 1814, inclusive, to which were added the Pastoral Letters of 1808, 1811, and 1814; (4) A collection of Diocesan Convention Journals, still incomplete. The other list recorded documents not obtained which were urgently needed, most of those missing being gaps in the files of Diocesan Journals.

The Reverend Francis L. Hawks, D.D., the eloquent Rector of St. Thomas' Church, New York, addressed a long communication to the House of Bishops of the 1835 Convention, setting forth that he had been collecting for more than five years, from every accessible source, materials for a history of the American Episcopal Church. He had been successful beyond his expectations, yet much remained to be done and no time was to be lost while the testimony of living witnesses was still available. He offered his collection to the General Convention and offered a plan for its preservation and future additions.

Dr. Hawks' collection included: 77 volumes of periodical publications of the American Episcopal Church, 13 periodicals being represented; 20 bound volumes of Diocesan Convention Journals; 40 bound volumes of pamphlets, many of them controversial and many of a very early date; about 20 unbound manuscript volumes of original letters and MSS. of deceased bishops and other clergymen, "not the least interesting of his collection."

The plan for the future suggested by Dr. Hawks was accepted by the Committee of the House of Bishops of which Bishop Meade was chairman, adopted by that House, and concurred in by the House of Deputies. Dr. Hawks' offer was accepted with thanks and the plan involved the following: Bishop White and Dr. Hawks were to apply, "in the name of this Convention," to the authorities of Lambeth Palace, Fulham Palace, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for documents or copies bearing upon the history of the American Church; a conservator, to be appointed by General Convention, was to receive and preserve all materials then owned by the Convention and to solicit donations of other sources which might be useful; such books and materials were to be deposited in the Library of the General Theological Seminary; the conservator was to be permitted to solicit money for this work; and Dr. Hawks was appointed conservator.

Thus we see that the gentlemen who were vitally concerned in making Church History of no mean order were alive to that history out of which the Church, as they knew it, had come to pass.

THE FOUR PROBLEMS

The *first* problem to be dealt with by the Convention was that of the newly formed Diocese of Illinois and the election of Philander Chase as its Bishop. While an undergraduate at Dartmouth, from which college he graduated in 1795, he had found a Prayer Book and had been converted by it. He was ordained to the diaconate by Bishop Provoost in 1798 and immediately afterwards planted parishes in the then wilderness of Central New York, notably at Utica and Auburn. After ordination to the priesthood he had charge of churches in Poughkeepsie and Fishkill for five years in addition to being principal of an academy. By request of Bishop Moore he went to New Orleans in 1805 and established Christ Church there. After Herculean labors and an almost fatal attack of malaria, he returned to Christ Church, Hartford, Connecticut, in 1811. Always possessed of a restless pioneer spirit, the frontier called too strongly for him to be contented in a settled parish, so he forsook the East for Ohio. Late in 1818 he traveled eastward over the mountains with a certificate of election as Bishop of Ohio in his pocket, five clergymen and nine laymen having elected him at Worthington, Ohio, about one year after the organization of the Diocese. He was consecrated by Bishop White, assisted by Bishops Hobart, Kemp, and Croes, in St. James' Church, Philadelphia, February 11, 1819. Convinced of the necessity of a college in the west for the recruiting and training of ministers, he went to England to raise money over the vigorous opposition of Bishop Hobart, and came back in 1824 with \$20,000 in his purse and later received \$10,000 more. Then, in 1831, following disagreements over the administration of Kenyon College, he resigned the presidency and his bishopric without asking the leave of the House of Bishops or General Convention. He plunged into the wilds of Michigan, working a farm and preaching the Gospel for about four years, until the three clergymen and three parishes organized at Peoria in 1835 the Diocese of Illinois and elected Bishop Chase as their Bishop. He was by that time sixty years old, but nothing daunted he accepted and appeared at the General Convention as Bishop of Illinois.

The House of Bishops appointed a special Committee consisting of Bishops Brownell, Benjamin Onderdonk and Meade to consider the request of Illinois for admission into union with the General Convention and the confirmation of Bishop Chase's election. The Committee felt that the irregularities of procedure could be overlooked because "the case was unprovided for by the Canons of the Church. As there is no probability that a similar case can occur hereafter, in which they may be adduced as a precedent, and as there

are other especial considerations which render it desirable that the measures of the Convention of Illinois should be consummated by the action of the General Convention," the Committee recommended the admission of the Church of Illinois as a Diocese with Bishop Chase as its head into union with the General Convention. The House of Bishops adopted the report and the resolution and the House of Deputies concurred the same day, August 24, 1835.

The *second* major problem before the Convention was the division of dioceses. This the Convention was loath to undertake because most of the leaders were wedded to the idea of "state sovereignty" and the corollary that the Diocese should be coterminous with the state. But the situation in New York demanded relief. The state was almost 50,000 square miles in area, 300 miles from east to west, and 300 miles from north to south along the eastern boundary line. As we have seen from the Report of the State of the Church, it had grown so rapidly in its church population as to be unwieldy for one bishop to administer. Bishop Onderdonk had prepared the way by presenting the subject to his own Diocesan Convention and introduced it into the House of Bishops. A Joint Committee headed by Bishop White reported favorably and recommended an amendment to the Constitution to effect it. After due debate, the first reading was passed by the Convention of 1835 proposing that the constitution be so changed as to permit any diocese to be divided if the resulting dioceses shall each contain not less than 8,000 square miles and 30 presbyters, provided that the Bishop and Convention of the original diocese, and the General Convention give their consent. This proposed amendment was ratified in 1838 and the Diocese of Western New York was set off in that year.

The *third* and *fourth* major problems demanding solution—the *missionary episcopate* and the *missionary organization*—were bound up together and were by no means new; they were as old as the Church's independent existence—fifty years. Because the General Convention of 1835 effectively solved these problems as they had not been solved before, it ranks among the really great conventions and stands as a turning point in the history of the American Church.

Why was the American Episcopal Church so remiss in meeting the challenge of the frontier? Why was it so slow in seizing the opportunity which the rapidly growing West offered? Did the leadership which so ably brought about its reorganization and establishment as a united, independent, self-governing national Church within the Anglican Communion fail to grasp the situation? I think not, as I shall endeavor to prove. In the general condemnation heaped upon the Church and her leaders of the period following the

reorganization, there has been more heat than light. It is not sufficiently well understood that religion in general and the American Episcopal Church in particular were in the grip of forces which the leaders could not immediately control or circumvent.

Immediately after the reorganization of the Church was accomplished in 1789, the General Convention of 1792 which met in New York attacked the problem of the growing frontier. An act was passed "for supporting missionaries to preach the gospel on the frontiers of the United States." This act "recommended that the ministers of the Church preach a sermon in each of the churches under their care on the first Sunday of September in every year for the purpose of collecting money, in order to carry into effect this charitable design"; that each State Convention appoint a treasurer to receive such moneys, and he in turn should pay over the money received by him to the general treasurer to be appointed by the Bishop of Pennsylvania and the Standing Committee appointed by the General Convention; when sufficient money was in hand, the Standing Committee was to employ such missionaries "as to them shall seem best."

This Committee, composed of Bishop White, Rev. Drs. William Smith, Magaw, Andrews, Blackwell, and Messrs. Samuel Powel and John Wood, was ordered to prepare an address to the members of the Church, which address was to be read by the ministers of the Church on the day appointed for the collection. Copies of this address are still extant.* It is one of the best statements of missionary motive and policy to be found anywhere. After reviewing the labors of previous conventions which resulted in the union of the Church, the securing of the Episcopate, and the revision of the Prayer Book, the address points out that the objective of "so good a system" is an "evangelical profession of Religion" and "holiness of heart and life; an effect which may be looked for, wherever provision has been made for the stated preaching of the word, and the administration of the Sacraments." But there were many persons "on the extensive frontier of the United States who, having been educated in the faith and worship of our Church, wish to have the benefits of its ministry"; but they cannot unless helped by their richer brethren who do have them.

"It has ever been held a duty, incumbent on every branch of the Christian Church, not to neglect, as far as opportunity shall offer, the publishing of the glad tidings of salvation, even to heathen nations. Accordingly, it cannot but be the desire of every member of our Communion, that something may be attempted by us, in due time, for assisting in every laudable endeavor for the conversion of our

**One is among the Bishop Croes Papers in Rutgers University Library.*

Indian neighbours, notwithstanding former disappointments and discouragements: And it is the sincere wish and prayer of those who now address you, that the day may not be far distant, when Providence shall open the door, and we shall avail ourselves of the opportunity, for so good a work. But if this be a duty, how much more so is the extending of aid to those, who are of one Faith and one Baptism with ourselves; but who, from unavoidable causes, are without those means of public worship, which the Divine Author of our religion has accomodated to the wants and weaknesses of human nature; and which He saw to be, on those accounts, necessary for upholding the profession of His name.

"The promise of Christ, to be with His Church to the end of the world, will never fail; and yet particular branches of the Universal Church may either flourish or decline, in proportion to their continuing in a pure profession and suitable practice on the one hand, and to their falling into error, or indifference and unholy living, on the other. However prosperous, therefore, the beginning of our Church in this new world, she will have little reason to look up for a continuance of the Divine Blessing, if, when she contemplates so many members of her communion 'scattered abroad, as sheep having no shepherd,' she does not use her diligence to bring them within Christ's Fold, and to secure to them a stated administration of the ordinances of His religion."

The address ends with a reminder of what the Church of England had done for the Church in the Colonies, "the example is what we ought, in reason, to imitate"; and in helping to make good Christians, they will be helping to make good citizens.

Why did so little come of this admirable beginning? Why did forty-three years have to elapse before the whole Church could be enlisted in missionary work?

The fifteen years following the close of the American Revolution was a period of spiritual deadness among *all* American churches. It was "the period of the lowest ebb-tide of vitality in the history of American Christianity." Deism was rampant. Christianity was ridiculed. Tom Paine was the vogue among young men. French Revolutionary sentiment was powerful and college boys boasted of their infidelity, taking Voltaire, Rousseau and the Encyclopaedists as their heroes. The Presbyterian College at Princeton had in 1782 but two students who professed themselves Christians. The Presbyterian General Assembly in 1798 laments the prevailing impiety, infidelity and contempt for religion. Virginia Baptists likewise complained and the Methodists for a number of years reported a steady decline in membership. As late as 1811, when William Meade, later Bishop of Virginia, offered himself for ordination at Williamsburg,

universal surprise was expressed that a college-bred man should apply for orders, the students having recently debated the question "whether Christianity had been beneficial or injurious to mankind." Manners and morals reflected the low estate of religion.

But why did it take so much longer for the Episcopal Church to recover from this deadly disease than for other religious organizations? Competent historians are quite generally agreed that the Episcopal Church suffered the most complete collapse of all religious bodies following the War of Independence. And this for several reasons: (1) It was identified with the cause of King George, and that had been defeated. This hostility remained until after the War of 1812 and it was powerful. (2) Most of the abler clergy abandoned the country altogether for more hospitable cures in Canada or England. (3) With one stroke of the pen, the generous subsidies of the S. P. G. were cut off and those missionaries of the Society who remained in the United States were often destitute and discouraged. No one except Philander Chase thought it proper to ask the Mother Church for sorely needed assistance. (4) Many of the finest laymen in the Colonial Church left for Canada and the resulting weakness of most parishes made the support of possible recruits for the ministry exceedingly precarious. (5) The Church's stand for an educated ministry did not allow her to recruit the ranks of her ministry as easily as the Methodists and Baptists. (6) Liturgical services were not exactly popular on the frontier, where the majority could neither read nor write. (7) Many of the Church's educated laity were rationalists and deists to whom enthusiasm for anything except politics was a joke.

The truth is, it was nothing less than providential that the Episcopal Church survived at all, and there were many who did not believe that it could. And after the Church came out of the period of decline, there had to be an era of strengthening the stakes before there could be a lengthening of the cords. The tide visibly turned with the consecration to the Episcopate of Hobart, Griswold and Moore. But it was too late for the Church to play the great part in the winning of the West which she might have played if she had not been the victim of the alliance of Church and State by which her spiritual powers were hamstrung for one hundred and seventy-five years.

THE MISSIONARY EPISCOPATE

The Committee appointed by the House of Deputies to consider the subject of the Missionary Episcopate had a majority of western

deputies: the Rev. Messrs. Caleb S. Ives of Alabama, Leonidas Polk of Tennessee, Edward C. McGuire of Virginia, and of the laity, Dr. John E. Cooke of Kentucky and Alexander C. Magruder of Maryland. The Committee reported that "the Journals of our several General Conventions show the deep anxiety of the Church, at all times, to provide for the spiritual wants of our brethren in the Territories and young States."

The Convention of 1808 had appointed a committee of three bishops, two presbyters and two laymen, "to consider of, and determine on, the proper mode of sending a Bishop into said States and Territories; and, in case of a reasonable prospect of accomplishing the object, to elect a person to such Episcopacy. In 1811, that committee reported that they had not proceeded to elect a person to said office, because at that time there existed no reasonable prospect of accomplishing the object. Thereupon, the Bishops of Virginia and Pennsylvania were requested to devise means for the supply of Episcopal congregations west of the Alleghany Mountains with the ministrations and worship of the Church; and for 'organizing the Church in the western states.' " But Bishop Madison died in 1812 and nothing came of the authorization.

The effects of this delay can be better understood by considering the case of one of the missionaries involved. The Rev. Joseph Doddridge had been a Methodist minister under Asbury. He had learned the German language so well as to be able to preach in it. On further study he became a convert to the Episcopal Church and was ordered deacon by Bishop White in 1792. He labored in West Virginia, Western Pennsylvania and Ohio most of his life. The first Christian service in Washington, Pennsylvania, was held by Doddridge in 1792; in 1793 he was at West Liberty, Ohio County, Virginia (now West Virginia); the first sermon preached in Steubenville, Ohio, was in the upper room of the old log courthouse in 1796, and Doddridge preached it. In 1800, he moved to Wellsburg, Virginia, and founded parishes in Wheeling, and across the river in Belmont County, Ohio, in 1802, and Zanesville, 1810.

In this latter year (1810) Doddridge and his few clerical brethren in western Pennsylvania and western Virginia held a meeting and asked, through Bishop White, permission of the General Convention to form a diocesan convention for the western country. As we have seen, the General Convention of 1811 acted but nobody else did.

In a letter to Bishop Hobart dated December, 1816, Doddridge reviews the effects of this inaction:

"Eighteen months elapsed before I heard of the fate of our petition and that the project had been laid aside on

account of the death of Bishop Madison. I then lost all hope of ever witnessing any prosperity in our Church in this part of America. Everything fell into a state of languor. The vestries were not re-elected; our young people joined other societies. Could I prevent this when I indulged no hope of a successor in the ministry? When I had no expectation that even my own remains after death would be committed to the grave with the funeral services of my Church? . . . I resolved, however, that I would not desert my post, and with God's help, I will not. How often did I reflect with feelings of the deepest regret and sorrow, that if anything like an equal number of professors of any other Christian community had been placed in Siberia or India, and equally dependent upon a supreme ecclesiastical authority in this country, that they would not have been so neglected, that a request so reasonable would have been met with prompt and cheerful compliance. . . . It must be well known to you that the State of Kentucky, the Territories of Missouri and Illinois, the State of Indiana, as well as some large districts in the State of Ohio, have been settled by emigration for the most part from Maryland and Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia. . . . The western part of Virginia has received the population from the same source. Most, if not all of these states, were before the Revolution, Crown States, and their inhabitants members of the established Church. The people still retain many of the distinguishing features of the general characteristics of their forefathers. . . . Among these traits of character is that of a strong dislike to Puritanism, and this is one that still exists among them in considerable force. No great number of them have ever united with the Presbyterians. You may have supposed from the pompous reports which have appeared from time to time concerning the progress of the Presbyterians, Methodists and Anabaptists in the western countries, that they had long before now swallowed up almost all the population of this country. Not so, for with the exception of the western part of Pennsylvania, go where you will, you will find from one-third to one-half the population of the towns and villages and their neighbourhoods of no religious profession whatever. Ask them concerning the religion of their forefathers. They will answer, they were Church people. Many of these people still retain an old Prayer Book as a venerable relic of antiquity. They still have a reverence for Baptism and the Lord's Day. The Church, they say, was once pure and good, but now it is fallen, and they fear will never be revived again. . . . I will now state the measures which appear to me necessary for the creation of Episcopal Churches in this country.

The first is a Convention. . . . I am under the painful necessity of stating that I am the only Episcopal

Clergyman in the western part of Virginia, where by this time there ought to have been at least forty! . . .

The next is a Bishop. The very idea of a Bishop several hundred miles from his flocks is discouraging in the extreme. The Methodist Bishops have been frequently through this country, and even the Catholics, though few in number, have been comforted by the presence and services of their Episcopal Pastor. No such event has happened to us. For many great and important purposes well known to you, the holy Episcopal office, to be serviceable should be at hand. Our people wish and pray for this, and I trust we are worthy of an Episcopate among ourselves. . . . As we have material for forming congregations here, so I trust there are some for the Ministry. The clerical profession is becoming reputable in this country. Some physicians and lawyers have expressed a desire to take orders in the Church. Could it be done with convenience? When I reflect upon the little which has been done for the promotion of our Church in this extensive region, I feel abased. If I should say that there are at present half a million of Episcopalians and their descendants in the western country, including the whole of Western Virginia, I verily believe that I should not be justly chargeable with exaggeration. What has been done for the spiritual interests of these people? Almost nothing at all. Had we imitated at an early period the example of other societies, employed the same means for collecting our people into societies, and building Churches, and with the same zeal, we should have had by this time four or five Bishops, surrounded by a numerous and respectable body of Clergy, instead of having our very names connected with a fallen Church. Instead of offering a rich and extensive plunder to every sectarian missionary, we should have occupied the first and highest station among the Christian Societies of the West. Ought we not to hasten to gather those still within our reach? Yes, they wish, they pray, for our Bishop. Oh! let that assistance which they consider so necessary for their eternal welfare be no longer withheld!

Bishop Hobart was not the man to let such an appeal go unanswered. Hobart's influence can in some measure be understood when it is realized that as early as 1811, of the whole list of 178 clergy returned to the General Convention of that year, 93, or more than one-half, were in regular correspondence with him, seeking his advice and counsel. Undoubtedly this letter of Doddridge's, and Hobart's reaction to it, were responsible for the canon passed by the General Convention of 1817, authorizing portions of the Dioceses of Virginia and Pennsylvania to place themselves under the provisional superintendence of such Bishops as might be consecrated for the States and Territories in which the Church was not yet organized into dioceses.

But again the Church stayed her hand and repealed the canon in 1820 in expectation that Bishop Chase of Ohio, recently consecrated, might render the needed service to the "distant and destitute brethren." And thus it rested for another ten years. During the decade following, Georgia (1823), Mississippi (1826), Tennessee (1829), Kentucky (1829), Alabama (1830), and Michigan (1832) were admitted as Dioceses but without bishops in any of them. At the General Convention of 1829, the House of Deputies requested the House of Bishops "to consider of, and report to the next General Convention, a plan for extending to the States and Territories in which the Church is not organized, Episcopal services and Episcopal supervision." When 1832 came around, the Rev. Benjamin B. Smith had been elected Bishop of Kentucky and was consecrated during the General Convention of that year, along with Bishops Hopkins of Vermont, McIlvaine of Ohio, and Doane of New Jersey. There was a prospect of a Bishop for Tennessee which was subsequently realized. The Convention was therefore content to adopt a canon authorizing the election and consecration of a Bishop for what was called the South-Western Diocese—a proposed federation of Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana. But that measure failed also, and the failure was not helpful to the affected territory.

Why did all these heartaches come to nought until the Convention of 1835? Let the Committee speak:

"The reason why it was formerly supposed that there was not a reasonable prospect of accomplishing the object was that the Convention had not the power of providing 'food and raiment' for the Bishop whose consecration was so much desired. A missionary spirit on which reliance may now be had, has been awakened in the Church, and its missionary department puts it in the power of the Convention now to send the requisite number of Bishops to those settlements. The Committee take it for granted, that the proposed alteration in the Constitution of the Missionary Society will take place, and thus give to the Convention the power of supporting any number of Bishops that it may be deemed expedient to send into our Territories and States not yet admitted into union with the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.

In the same way, the requisite funds to support a Bishop to be sent abroad by the Church may be obtained. The Committee, therefore, recommend that provision be made for the support of Bishops to be employed in the foreign department of the operations of the Church, as soon as it may be deemed expedient to send them, and fit and proper persons are selected."

The canon as finally passed provided that "the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies may, from time to time, on nomination of the House of Bishops, elect a suitable person or persons to be a Bishop or Bishops of this Church, to exercise Episcopal functions in States and Territories not organized as Dioceses." Provision was also made for the election and consecration of a "suitable person to be a Bishop of this Church, to exercise Episcopal functions in any place or places out of the territory of the United States, which the House of Bishops may designate."

Thus was brought to pass what to us is a commonplace, but what was then a revolutionary principle, namely, that both jurisdiction and the power of mission belong to the Episcopate as a whole, and that a bishop chosen and consecrated to be the vicar of the American Episcopate should represent that body in places where the constituent members could not go. Although revolutionary, it was in fact but the restoration of the old primitive principle involved in the very word "apostle"—"one sent forth." As Bishop Doane said: A missionary bishop is "a bishop *sent forth* by the Church, *not sought for* of the Church; going before to organize the Church, not waiting till the Church has partially been organized; a leader, not a follower, in the march of the Redeemer's conquering and triumphant Gospel . . . sent by the Church, even as the Church is sent by Christ."

THE MISSIONARY ORGANIZATION

The first formal organizations for promoting missionary work were, naturally, diocesan; notably, those of New York, South Carolina and Pennsylvania for "the advancement of Christianity." The impetus for the organization of a national missionary society came from England and the Church Missionary Society. The Secretary, the Rev. Josiah Pratt, wrote in 1815 to several leading members of the American Church asking their co-operating in sending missionaries to Africa and the East. Bishop Griswold of the Eastern Diocese replied and later reported that the Rev. Joseph R. Andrus was anxious to serve in the foreign field. In 1817, the Church Missionary Society offered £200 to help form "in the Episcopal Church of the United States a missionary society for the advancement of the Kingdom of Christ among the heathen."

The Pennsylvania deputies in the General Convention of 1820 pressed the matter of organizing "a general Missionary Society for Foreign and Domestic Missions." The Convention acceded to the proposal and adopted the constitution for the Society. The Presiding Bishop was to be president; the other Bishops vice-presidents; a

board of managers of twenty-four members appointed by General Convention was to conduct the affairs of the Society and appoint two secretaries, a treasurer and other necessary officers. Auxiliary societies were to be established and annual contributors at \$3 per year were to be members, life members paying \$30 and patrons \$50.

Defects in the organization led to the suspension of its activities until they were remedied in the special Convention of 1821. Bishops were recognized as directors *ex-officio* and the title was changed to "The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society," which it has since retained. The Bishop of every diocese was to be president of the auxiliary societies organized within it. Twenty per cent of all moneys received was to be added to the endowment fund.

In 1823 not a single missionary was employed by the Society, but by the time the next General Convention met in 1826, the first domestic missionaries had been appointed—the Rev. M. S. Motte for St. Augustine, Florida, the Rev. Thomas Harrel for Jackson County, Missouri, the Rev. R. F. Cadle for Detroit, and the Rev. Norman Nash for the Indians at Green Bay. The Standing Committee of the House of Deputies, composed of the Rev. Messrs. Harry Crosswell of Connecticut, B. B. Smith of Vermont, and J. P. K. Henshaw of Maryland, noted these appointments, "but they regret to find that no missionary has yet been sent from this institution to any foreign land," although nearly \$2,000 had been subscribed "for a mission to the western coast of Africa and other considerable sums for establishing missions in other parts of the world." On recommendation of this Committee, the House of Deputies passed a resolution urging the Board of Directors "to establish, and as soon as possible occupy, a missionary station at Liberia . . . and also at Buenos Ayres, or its vicinity, in South America."

In the General Convention of 1829, the House of Deputies passed a resolution stating that "there exists an alarming deficiency in the number of our clergy, so that many of our congregations are unsupplied, and our missionary societies are unable to obtain as many missionaries as they wish"; and the House of Bishops was requested to bring this subject to the Church's members, urging the formation of Education Societies to help in the preparation of "pious and indigent candidates for the sacred office," and requesting the clergy "to present the same to the consideration of pious parents and youth" in their congregations.

The Society's Triennial Report to the Convention of 1829 revealed that the Society had only twenty auxiliary societies, seven having been added since 1826, and of these only a few had been regular in their remittances. The patrons numbered eighty-three, life

members forty-four, and annual subscribers thirty-six. The Secretary had been made General Agent and in six months' endeavor had secured only \$900, of which his expenses were \$370. The treasury was faced with an alarming deficit and the Board was "unable to calculate at any time upon funds for missions until they were actually received into the treasury." Nevertheless, "the Board would express their conviction that the interests of the Society have been for some time past, after a long season of doubt and disquietude, gradually but slowly advancing." Churches had been erected under the Society's auspices at St. Louis and Detroit. Missionaries had been sent to St. Augustine, Pensacola and Tallahassee in Florida; and to Tuscaloosa in Alabama; the operations at Green Bay, for some time suspended, had been resumed; a settlement of the Oneida Indians in Michigan had been taken under the care of the Society; and a missionary agent, the Rev. John J. Robertson, had been despatched to Greece to make preparations for establishing schools.

The Standing Committee of the House of Deputies to which this report was referred dealt with it in vigorous fashion. The Rev. Alonzo Potter, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Boston, and later Third Bishop of Pennsylvania (1845-1865), was chairman; the Rev. Francis L. Hawks, then Assistant Minister of Trinity Church, New Haven; the Rev. Dr. Thomas Lyell, Rector of Christ Church, New York City; Messrs. William Meredith of Pennsylvania and Edward A. Newton of Massachusetts were the other members. While acknowledging with gratitude what had been accomplished, the Committee "still cannot but express their regret that these efforts have borne so small a proportion . . . even to that missionary zeal which is actually existing in our Church. The truth is, this Society has not yet received, even from the friends of missions amongst us, that general and cordial support which was so earnestly to have been desired." This imperfect support was ascribed, first, to want of plans for raising funds, organized on systematic principles and emanating from the Board of Directors; and, second, to some provisions of the constitution which have impeded the Society's operations and "have the still more disastrous effect of estranging from it many who should have been its friends." They expected the defects in the constitution to be remedied at that Convention and they pointed out that parochial associations, subsidiary to the auxiliary societies, needed to be established in great numbers. The Committee strongly recommended "that the foreign operations of the Society be limited to the missions already established or about to be established" on the ground that efforts had been spread over too large an area, and that "concentrated action alone is powerful action."

In considering the domestic field, the Committee had "deliberated with deep and anxious interest. They see our young country at the West and South advancing with unexampled and almost fearful rapidity. They see that in the extension of Christianity, and in the establishment of the institutions of our Church, are to be found most important and indispensable safeguards to its peace and prosperity." And that is where they experienced great difficulty in deciding as to what points the chief energies of the Society should be devoted, where existed the greatest spiritual necessities, and where were the most favorable openings for the Church. On this subject they find "a great deficiency of definite and authentic information." For this reason, the visits of Bishop Ravenscroft to Tennessee and Kentucky had been most valuable and they welcomed the news that Bishop Brownell of Connecticut was soon to visit the Mississippi Valley which, in fact, he did the following year. Finally, the Committee observed that "a spirit of philanthropy is abroad in the world. It is evident it is beginning to pervade our own Communion. Your Committee cannot but look upon this institution (the Society) as one of the most important—they may say *the* most important—in our Church."

When the General Convention of 1832 convened, the Society's report revealed marked progress. The income had increased from \$7,305.30 for the year ending May 12, 1830, to \$12,746.63 for the year ending May 12, 1831; and from that to \$16,443.20 for the year ending May 12, 1832; and for the five months preceding the opening of the General Convention, \$10,239.17. The annual members had increased by 10, life members by 41, and patrons by 38, but the total was only 58 annual members, 85 life members, and 108 patrons. Thirty new auxiliary associations had been added, which made a total of seventy-five. Twenty-seven persons had been employed by the Society during the previous three years, and the financial responsibilities were: for the Greek missions, \$3,975; Green Bay missions, \$5,000; Domestic missionaries, \$1,275; other domestic objects, \$1,500; or a total of \$11,750.

The Standing Committee of the House of Deputies which considered this report felt that the domestic operations were not on a scale "commensurate with the distressing wants of the Church in this respect," and that the Society's tasks required more missionaries and more money. "Could an adequate supply of the former be obtained, there would be no deficiency of the latter." They accordingly pressed their resolutions recommending more parochial organizations auxiliary to the Society and greater support of its periodical publications.

Another three years went by and on the day preceding the opening of the General Convention of 1835, a special meeting of the Board of Directors of the Society was called. It was largely attended and, among others, by Bishops White, Moore, H. U. Onderdonk, Smith, McIlvaine and Doane. After settling some minor points, "the measure was brought in which, far beyond any other, gave a character to the Convention, and which has introduced, if we at all discern 'the signs of the times,' a new and brighter era in the history of the Church." The Rev. Dr. Milnor of St. George's Church, New York, moved that a committee be appointed "to consider and report whether any, and what measures should be adopted for the more efficient organization of the Society, and the future conduct of its concerns." The Committee appointed were Bishops Doane and McIlvaine, the Rev. Drs. Milnor, Henshaw, Kemper, Beasley of St. Michael's, Trenton, and Mr. A. C. Magruder of Maryland.

Before the Committee had met, Bishop Doane, Bishop McIlvaine and Dr. Milnor came casually together. "What would you think," said Dr. Milnor, "of reporting that *the Church is the Missionary Society*, and should carry on the work of missions by a Board appointed by the General Convention?" "Why," replied Bishop Doane, "it is the very plan which I have long thought ought to have been adopted, and for the adoption of which I should thank God with my whole heart." "How very strange is this," said Bishop McIlvaine. "I surely knew nothing of the mind of either of you, and yet this is the very plan which I have introduced into the sermon which I am to preach before the Society,"* When the Committee met, these three members stated their views and found them cordially reciprocated by *all* their associates. Thus, as to the principle of their report, the Committee were from the first unanimous. And thus did God make men to be of one mind in one house.

On Friday, August 21st, the Committee of the Board of Directors, by their chairman, Bishop Doane, presented their report to the Society in which it unanimously recommended: "That the Church herself, in dependence on her Divine Head, and for the promotion of his glory, undertake and carry on, in her character as the Church, and as 'the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America,' the work of Christian Missions." The General Convention, as the representative of the whole Church, was to be the constitutional organ for the prosecution of this work. The field was always to be regarded as one, the world—the terms *Domestic* and *Foreign* being understood as terms of

*"The Missionary," *periodical of the Diocese of New Jersey*; Vol. I, No. 44, p. 175; Sept. 19, 1835.

locality, adopted for convenience. All baptized persons were to be members of the Society by virtue of their baptism. Each parish was to be regarded as a missionary association, and its pastor as agent of the Board, for Jesus' sake. The members of the Church were to be called upon to support missions by some plan of systematic giving. To carry out these principles, the agent of the General Convention was to be the Board of Missions and two Committees were to be appointed with a Secretary for each, one to direct the domestic work and the other to direct the foreign work. By an unwritten understanding or gentleman's agreement, the Low Churchmen were to control the foreign work and the High Churchmen the domestic field. A missionary paper was to be established and this resulted in "The Spirit of Missions."

The report having been read, Bishop Doane was requested, on motion of Dr. Milnor and by unanimous vote of the Board of Directors, to present these revolutionary proposals to the Society, the necessary first step before presentation to the Convention. In an address of great power, he argued "that by the original constitution of Christ, the Church as the Church, was the one great Missionary Society; and the Apostles, and the Bishops, their successors, his perpetual trustees: and that this great trust could not, and should never be divided or deputed. The duty, he maintained, to support the Church in preaching the Gospel to every creature, was one which passed on *every Christian by the terms of his baptismal vow*, and from which he could never be absolved. The General Convention he claimed to be the duly constituted representative of the Church; and pointed out its admirable combination of all that was necessary to secure, on the one hand, the confidence of the whole Church, and on the other, the most concentrated and intense efficiency. He then explained the constitution of the Board of Missions, the permanent Agent of the Church in this behalf: developing and defining all its powers and functions, as the central reservoir of energy and influence for the Missionary work; and the appointment by it, and in subordination to it, of the *two Executive Committees* for the two departments, Foreign and Domestic, of the one great field—the Missionary *hands* of the Church, reaching out into all the world to bear the Gospel to every creature,—each having its *Secretary and Agent*, some strong and faithful man, imbued and saturated with the Missionary spirit, *the index-finger*, as it were, of the Committee—to touch, to move, to control, by their direction, each one of the ten thousand springs that are to energize the Church. For the effectual organization of the body, in the holy work to which the Saviour calls them, he indicated *the parochial relation*, as the most important of all bonds,—calling on

every clergyman, as the Agent of the Board, for Jesus' sake, to use his utmost effort in instructing, first, and interesting his people; then in engaging their free-will offering of themselves in its support, upon the apostolic plan of *systematic charity*—laying up in store on every Lord's Day, as God should prosper them; and, when the gathering was made, transmitting to the treasury of the Church the consecrated offerings.”*

After Bishop Doane concluded, Bishop McIlvaine and Drs. Milnor and Henshaw defended and enforced the principles of the proposed organization. After much discussion, the report was recommended to the same Committee, with others added, to prepare a detailed Constitution and report that to the Society. On Tuesday, August 25th, the Society again met and received the Constitution embodying the principles and plans as originally proposed by the Committee. It was adopted by the Society, and finally by both Houses of the Convention on Friday, August 28th.

All this was not done in a corner. The interest was intense. One who was there, wrote about it as follows:†

“The discussion of this subject, in the different bodies through which it passed, occupied several days, and was, in every circle, however remotely connected with the Church, the prevailing theme of every tongue. Large numbers of persons, not connected with the Convention or the Society, attended with unfailing interest the frequent and protracted sittings. The debates were conducted with great spirit and ability, in some instances in strains of powerful eloquence, but always with Christian courtesy and kindness. The difference of opinion which existed was obviously an honest difference. The end and aim which each proposed was, as obviously, the most efficient organization of an institution, which all agreed was of the highest value to the Church. The benefit of such a discussion cannot be estimated. Facts were elicited, views were developed, and principles were established, which brought conviction to every mind; and the missionary enterprise received an impulse, which will extend, we trust, to every corner of the land. The persons who took chief part in the discussion, for and against the reported Constitution in its several details, were Bishops Brownell, Meade, Onderdonk of Pennsylvania, Onderdonk of New York, Hopkins, Smith, McIlvaine and Doane, the Rev. Drs. Milnor, Potter, Tyng, Hawks, Gadsden, Mason and Wainwright, the Rev. Messrs. Boyd, James, Mason, and Richmond, and Messrs. Eccleston, Newton, Jay, Meredith, Nicklin, Wheeler, Magruder, and Wallace. In the end, it was adopted, as it stands, with great and

*“*The Missionary*,” Vol. I, No. 42, pp. 166, 167.

†“*The Missionary*,” Vol. I, No. 42, pp. 167, 168.

gratifying unanimity. For ourselves, we consider it a measure of far greater promise to the Church of Christ than any which in our day has been effected. In its adoption, the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States has placed herself on primitive ground. She stands, as a Church, in the very attitude in which the Apostolic Church at Jerusalem, when the day of Pentecost had brought the Holy Spirit down to guide and bless it, set out to bear the Gospel of its heavenly Head to every soul of man in every land. As the Church she undertakes, and before God binds herself to sustain, the injunction of her Lord, to go and 'make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.' Upon every one who, in the water of Baptism, has owned the eternal triune name, she lays, on peril of his soul if he neglect it, the same sacred charge. Her Bishops are Apostles, all; her clergy, all Evangelists; her members, each in his own sphere, and to his utmost strength, are Missionaries, every man; and she—that noblest of all names—a *Missionary Church*—'to the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places may be made known, by the Church, the manifold wisdom of God.' "

CONCLUSION

We close our account of the General Convention of 1835 with the pen of George Washington Doane, Second Bishop of New Jersey, whose part in that Convention was not without honor.*

"But Tuesday, September 1st, as it was the last day of the Convention, so it was, by eminence, the day of glorious issues for the Church. The Board of Missions, at the call of the venerable Presiding Bishop, held its first meeting, and appointed its two Committees—that for Domestic Missions to be located in the City of New York, and that for Foreign Missions in the City of Philadelphia. The important business of the session was tending to a close. The whole day had been diligently occupied with the most solemn duties. The Canon 'Of Missionary Bishops' had received the final sanction of both Houses. Two oversepherds were to be sent out, the messengers of the Church, to gather and to feed, under the direction of the House of Bishops, the scattered sheep that wander, with no man to care for their souls, through all the wide and distant West. It was an act, in this Church, never exercised before. And yet, upon its due discharge, interests depended which outweigh the world, and will run out into eternity.

"In the Church (St. Andrew's) the representatives of the dioceses are assembled. They wait, in their proper places,

*"The Missionary," Vol. I, No. 42, pp. 167, 168.

the eventful issue; while expectation thrills the hearts of all the multitude which throngs the outer courts. In a retired apartment, the Fathers of the Church are in deep consultation. There are twelve assembled. They kneel in silent prayer. They rise. They cast their ballots. A presbyter, whose praise is in all the Churches, is called by them to leave a heritage as fair as ever fell to mortal man, and bear his Master's Cross through the deep forests of the vast South-West. Again the ballots are prepared. They are cast in silence. They designate to the same arduous work, where broad Missouri pours her rapid tide, another, known and loved of all, whom, from a humbler lot, the Saviour now has called to feed his sheep. A messenger bears the result to the assembled deputies. A breathless silence fills the house of God. It is announced that Francis L. Hawks and Jackson Kemper, Doctors in Divinity, are nominated the two first Missionary Bishops of the Church; and all the delegates, as with a single voice, confirm the designation.

"One scene remains.—The night is far advanced. The congregation linger still, to hear the parting counsels of their fathers in the Lord. There is a stir in the deep chancel. The Bishops enter, and array themselves in their appropriate seats. The aged patriarch, at whose hands they all have been invested with the warrant of their holy trust, stands in the desk,—in aspect, meek, serene, and venerable, as the beloved John at Ephesus, when, sole survivor of the apostolic band, he daily urged upon his flock the affecting lesson, 'Little children, love one another!' Erect and tall, though laden with the weight of almost ninety winters, and with voice distinct and clear, he holds enchained all eyes, all ears, all hearts, while, with sustained and vigorous spirit he recites, in behalf and name of all his brethren, the Pastoral message, drawn from the stores of his long hoarded learning, enforced by the deductions of his old experience, and instinct throughout with the seraphic meekness of his wisdom.—He ceases from his faithful testimony. The voice of melody, in the befitting words of that delightful Psalm, 'Behold, how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity,' melts all hearts. And then, all knees are bent, to ask once more, as something to be borne and cherished in all after life, the apostolic benediction of that good old man."

And so the great Convention of 1835 passed into history, but its good deeds and mighty acts live after it, and we have entered into the fruits of its labors.

THE MISSIONARY BISHOP

A SERMON

PREACHED AT THE

CONSECRATION¹

OF THE RIGHT REVEREND

JACKSON KEMPER, D.D.

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND

GEORGE WASHINGTON DOANE, D.D.

BISHOP OF NEW JERSEY

Romans X. 15.—How shall they preach except they be sent?

Brethren, we are assembled, under the protection of Almighty God, to partake in, or to witness, the consecration of A MISSIONARY BISHOP. It is a new office in this Church. The event has not occurred before. What we are now to do will go on record, as a precedent. Is it right that it should be done? Is it wise in us to do it? Is the

¹The Rev. Jackson Kemper, D.D., Rector of St. Paul's Church, Norwalk, Connecticut, was consecrated on Friday, September 25, 1835, in St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia (in the pastoral care of which he had been twenty years associated with the Right Reverend and Venerable Rector), the first Missionary Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, to exercise Episcopal functions in Missouri and Indiana, by the Right Reverend William White, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, Presiding Bishop, assisted by six other Bishops: Richard Channing Moore, Second Bishop of Virginia; Philander Chase, First Bishop of Illinois; Henry U. Onderdonk, Assistant Bishop of Pennsylvania; Benjamin T. Onderdonk, Fourth Bishop of New York; Benjamin B. Smith, First Bishop of Kentucky; and George Washington Doane, Second Bishop of New Jersey.

Church prepared for the transaction?—Favour me, brethren, with your attention, while, according to the grace of God which is given unto me, I answer these plain questions. And Thou, divine and holy Saviour, who hadst compassion on the multitudes, “because they fainted and were scattered abroad, as sheep having no shepherd,” imbue us with Thy tender love for all the flock,—accept and sanctify our present effort to extend Thy sacred fold,—and make of him, who waits before us to receive Thy warrant, a pastor according to Thine own heart, to feed Thy people with knowledge and discretion!

THE MISSIONARY BISHOP

- I. What is *the nature of his office*?
- II. Has it *divine or apostolic sanction*?
- III. Is there a *present call for its provisions*?
- IV. Is it *consistent with the order and the genius of this Church*?

I. In strictness, as every minister of Jesus is a *Missionary*,² so are the Bishops, as His chief ministers, *eminently* Missionaries—*sent out* by Christ Himself to preach the Gospel—*sent* to preach it in a wider field—*sent* to preach it under a higher responsibility—*sent* to preach it at greater hazards of self-denial and self-sacrifice, and under circumstances more appalling of arduous labour and of anxious care,—to fulfil, in a single word, that humbling, but most wholesome precept of the Saviour, “whosoever of you shall be the chiefest, let him be servant of all.” But, though the “divers orders of ministers” which God, by His Holy Spirit, has appointed in the Church, have been, from the Apostles’ time, and will forever be the same,—and though it is the chief glory of the highest as of the lowest, that, like the blessed Son of God Himself, they are all Missionaries, sent out to preach the Gospel of salvation to a ruined world,—the different circumstances of the Church, in different countries, and at different times, lead to a difference of relation in the ministry, which may apply alike to each of its three orders. In places where the Church has long been settled, there will be a settled ministry. The people will supply themselves, or be supplied, through means which are substantially their own, with the word and ordinances of God—in other terms, they have *diocesan* Episcopacy and a *parochial* Clergy. In

²*Literally, one sent out,—synonymous with the scriptural words, Messenger, and Apostle.*

places where the Church has not been introduced, or has but partial and precarious lodgment, it, of course, cannot be so. To them emphatically applies the argument of the Apostle, of which the text is part. True, it is indeed so written in the Holy Scripture, "Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. But how"—the question is as true and pertinent at this day as when urged by fervent Paul—"how shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? And how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they preach, except they be sent?" In other words, if they have ministers of Christ to admit them to the Christian fold by baptism, to preach in their ears the word of reconciliation, break among them the bread of everlasting life, and help them to train up their children "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord," they must be *Missionaries*. If they have Bishops to oversee the flock, to lay hands upon them "after the example of the holy Apostles," "to ordain elders in every city, and set in order the things which are wanting," they must be *Missionary Bishops*. And precisely, as the Church, obeying the mandate of her divine Head, sends Presbyters and Deacons, to go "into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature," so may she, and so should she, emulating that divine compassion, which yearned over the fainting multitudes, that roamed, untended and unfed, among the mountains of Judea, send Bishops to them, to seek the wandering flocks, to lead them to the sacred fold, to appoint them under-shepherds, to oversee and govern them with due authority and godly discipline, and, "warning every man and teaching every man in all wisdom," to do what in them lies to "present every man perfect in Christ Jesus." And this is what is meant by A MISSIONARY BISHOP—a Bishop *sent forth by* the Church, *not sought for of* the Church—going *before* to organize the Church, not waiting till the Church has partially been organized,—a leader, not a follower, in the march of the Redeemer's conquering and triumphant Gospel—sustained by their alms whom God has blessed both with power and will to offer to Him of their substance, for their benefit who are not blessed with both or either of them—sent by the Church, even as the Church is sent by Christ; not to such only as have knowledge of His truth, and desire Him for their king, but to the ignorant and the rebellious, to them who know not of His name, or who will not have Him to reign over them, to the ungodly, the heathen, the idolatrous—to all who ignorantly are in unbelief, or wilfully "His enemies, by wicked works."

II. But, *is there sanction for this office of a Missionary Bishop in the instructions of the Saviour, or in the practice of the Apostles?* It is abundantly supplied in both. Take, for example, St. Matthew's record of the Saviour's first appointment of the ministry. "And Jesus went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every sickness and every disease among the people. But when He saw the multitudes He was moved with compassion on them because they fainted, and were scattered abroad as sheep having no shepherd."³ "And when He had called unto Him His twelve disciples," He "sent" them "forth, and commanded them, saying," "as ye go, preach,—the kingdom of heaven is at hand."⁴ Here surely is a most unquestionable exhibition of *the Missionary principle*.—The Saviour died, and rose again. But neither death nor life, the bleeding agony of the Cross, nor the triumphant glory of the Resurrection, could turn aside His steadfast heart from its benevolent and holy purpose. "Then the same day at evening," says the Evangelist St. John, "being the first day of the week," the same on which He rose, "when the doors were shut, where the disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews, came Jesus, and stood in the midst of them and said, Peace be unto you"; "as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you."⁵ And once again, when He was just about to rise to heaven, Jesus came and spake to the eleven, saying, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Here was consummated and confirmed, by Jesus Christ Himself, with perpetuity of succession to the end of time, *the office* of Apostle, or—the inspiration and the power of miracles ceasing with the necessity for them—of *Missionary Bishop*.

If there be desired still farther precedent, what clearer instance, and what nobler model, of a Missionary Bishop than Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, traversing sea and land,—at Antioch, at Damascus, at Ephesus, at Jerusalem, at Corinth, at Athens, in Italy, in Spain,—not knowing the things that may befall him there, nor counting his life dear unto himself, so that he may finish his course with joy, and the ministry which he had received of the Lord Jesus. Brethren, is there

³St. Matthew ix. 35, 36.

⁴St. Matthew x. 1, 5, 7.

⁵St. John xx. 19, 21.

triumphal march recorded, of conqueror or king, that shines out through the mist of ages with a track so luminous? What limit shall we set to the transforming power of that religion which could make the heart of a proud, persecuting Pharisee so overflow with self-denying love? Who would turn back from a career like this, though afflictions, bonds and death were multiplied a thousand fold along the way, to dream the longest life out in inglorious ease, or wear, even in its proudest and most palmy state, the purple of imperial Rome? And what poor dastards must we be, how utterly unfit to bear the name of Christ, if with such aids, such motives, such examples as we have, we still permit the ignoble thralls of time and sense to bind our spirits down to earth; and grovel in the mire of selfishness and sensuality, when we are called to tread the starry path by which not only Paul, but Polycarp, and Latimer, and Heber and Middleton, and Henry Martyn, and many more, whom time would fail us but to name, who "loved their lives not to the death," followed their Saviour into heaven!

III. But, *do the times require such efforts and such sacrifices?* Does Providence make plain before us the path of Christian duty? Is there a present call for the revival of what certainly received in the first ages the highest sanction, that even heaven itself can lend—the office of a Missionary Bishop? Look for a moment out upon the world. Glance with a rapid eye at the strange signs which mark the times. Look Eastward, and behold how throughout Asia ancient superstitions seem worn out and tottering to their fall. The sway of the false Prophet is now the shadow of what once it was. The mystic spell which shut out China from the world is fast dissolving, and the light of Gospel truth begins to break on her benighted and degraded millions. And even in Africa, which, for so many centuries, has lain in awful silence, like some old forgotten grave, grown over with long grass and weeds, faint signs of renovated life are seen, or seem to be, and challenge, by the holiest and most powerful sympathy, our pity, our exertions, and our prayers. Do we look homeward? Through the regions of our own unbounded West see how the stream of life sets onward. Behold, in arts, in wealth, in power, a progress such as earth has never seen, outrunning even fancy's wildest dreams; but with no provision that at all keeps pace with it, for the securing of man's nobler and immortal interests. Observe with what a keen and shrewd regard the Church of Rome has marked that region for her own, and with what steadiness of purpose she pursues her aim;

and seeks to lay the deep foundations of a power which is to grow as it grows, and to strengthen as it gathers strength.

Whence, in this crisis of the world, whence is the succour to be sought, that is to come up to the help of God against the mighty? To what source does the finger of His providence turn every eye that looks for rescue and relief? The Church of England, long by God's protecting favour, the stay and hope of Christendom, now needs her utmost succours for her own defence against the impious combination that attempts her overthrow. The Christian brethren, not of our communion, who have seemed to grow and multiply about us with a vigour so prolific, now begin to feel, and in some instances to own, the want of those inherent principles of union which alone can bind in one, large masses of mankind; and, destitute of ancient landmarks, stray insensibly from "the old paths," in which alone God's promise gives assurance of protection and of peace. Meanwhile, they turn instinctively to us. They recognize the doctrines which we hold, as the old faith which once was given to the Saints. They yield to us, with one accord, however they may differ from each other, the possession of a ministry with due authority from God to preach the Gospel of salvation, and set to its seals. They acknowledge the existence, in our institutions, of that tendency to fixed and certain centres, of those principles of unity, subordination and stability, which tend so powerfully to self-preservation, while they are so entirely indispensable to vigorous and enduring influence with others. They own that in the faithful use of our most scriptural and primitive service God may be worshipped, "in spirit and in truth," while man's infirmity is wisely guarded against much that tends to mar "the beauty of holiness," and to endanger the integrity of faith.

Brethren, these are no grounds of boasting on our part. There is nothing here that should be suffered to tempt us to glory over others, or to rely upon ourselves. No, God forbid! We have nothing, that we did not first receive. We have nothing for which we must not at the last account. We have nothing, which we ought not, in the spirit of true Christian meekness, to beseech our brethren, whom we love for Jesus' sake, to come and share with us. But, brethren, though we may not glory in our privileges, should we not be faithful in improving them? Though we may not boast of what the Lord has done for us, should we not be prompt and fervent in owning and proclaiming it? Though we may not triumph over others, who fall behind in any gift, should we not be earnest and untiring in com-

mending our advantages to them, and urging their adoption, not by the force of argument alone, but by the persuasive and prevailing eloquence of our meek, humble, holy, charitable, Christian conversation? If we believe that God has done more for us, than for some others of His children, the proper evidence of our sincerity is our endeavour to make up to them, from our abundance, their "lack of opportunity." If we are conscious that His presence is among us, and His blessing is upon us, the proof of our sincerity in that conviction is in "unfeigned love of the brethren," and in untiring efforts to make our light—the light reflected in us from the face of Jesus Christ—"so shine before men," that they may glorify with us our Father who is in heaven. If we believe that our principles as Protestant Episcopalians are most in accordance with the divine will, and therefore most for the promotion of human happiness, it is our duty to demonstrate it in action, to carry them out before the world in vigorous and efficient practice, and to make visible to every eye, and palpable to every heart, the great things which the Lord has done for us.

Brethren, I believe, before God, that next to the possession of the pure and undefiled religion of the Gospel of His Son,—and, in a degree so close and intimate that human penetration never can discriminate between them,—we are most indebted, for all that we are and all that we have that is most precious to us, here of Christian privilege, or hereafter of Christian hope, to the maintenance, in integrity and purity, of the order of His holy apostolic Church. I believe that it is to us, as faithful in the maintenance of both, that God continues, and, so long as we are faithful, will continue, to us His presence and protection—blessing, as He has promised that He will, the ministry of His appointment; accompanying, as He has pledged Himself to do, the glorious Church which He purchased to Himself with the blood of His dear Son, "alway, even unto the end of the world." I believe that, as the truth of the blessed and glorious Gospel is attested, not only by the outward evidence of its divine original, but by its quickening and transforming power in the conversion and renewal unto righteousness of every heart that faithfully receives it; so the identity of the one, holy, apostolic Church is and will ever be established, not only by the verifiable succession of its orders and sacraments, but by its effective and unquestionable agency as "the pillar and ground of the truth,"—as the conservator of God's pure and spiritual worship,—as the promoter in all human institutions, civil as well as religious, of order, strength and permanence,—as God's minister on earth of peace and good-will to man: the very purpose for which apostles, prophets,

evangelists, pastors, teachers—in a word, the whole structure of the Church was given—being, as St. Paul declares, “for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ, till we all come in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.”⁶

Believing these things, professing myself, as most assuredly I do, to be entirely conscientious in my belief of them, my principles as a Churchman, my attachment to the Church cannot be charged upon me as bigotry—may not, in Christian candour or in Christian charity, be denounced as blind and arbitrary attachment. No, it is part and parcel of my Christianity. I am protected against censure or reproach for that profession, by my Christian birthright to that glorious “liberty wherewith Christ has made us free.” Infinitely more and more important even than this—I am bound, bound most solemnly, bound by all my hopes of heaven, to offer, so far as in me lies, the same advantages, to commend and urge, so far as is consistent with that same glorious liberty, to the adoption of all others who have them not, the same inestimable privileges. Esteeming, as we do, beloved brethren, “the office of a Bishop,” enjoying, as we profess to do, with grateful hearts, the rich blessings which God has showered upon the Church in which it is our happiness to worship, how is it that we can, how is it that we dare, keep back from others the means of that enjoyment? If due perpetuation of the Church, and chief authority, and the protection of God’s promise, appertain to Bishops, as successors to the Apostles of the Lord, how can we encourage, so far as we have rightful influence, the extension or even the existence of the Church without a Bishop? If it be “evident,” as we declare, “to all men diligently reading holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles’ time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ’s Church, Bishops, Priests and Deacons,” by what warrant can we withhold from any portion of the Saviour’s family the chiefest of the three? If it be sound and true in practice, as it is certainly of primitive authority, “not to do anything without the Bishop,”⁷ upon what principle is it that we permit the organization of dioceses—nay, that we invite the organization of dioceses, and yet until they have a certain number of duly organized parishes, and of duly settled presbyters, compel them to remain—without a bishop?⁸

⁶*Ephesians iv. 11-13.*

⁷*See the Epistles of Ignatius, the disciple of St. John.*

⁸*Prudential reasons have been thought to require that no diocese in our communion should be allowed to proceed to the election of a Bishop until there had been duly settled in it six presbyters in charge of parishes for one year, and until there should also be six parishes duly organized. Such is the provision of the second Canon. Thanks be to*

And if there be, in Indiana or Missouri, in Louisiana, Florida or Arkansas, some scattered handfuls here and there of Churchmen—or if, obedient to the Saviour's mandate, to preach the Gospel unto every creature, we send our heralds of the Cross to China, Texas, Persia, Georgia, or Armenia—upon what principle can we neglect, or on what ground can we refuse,—since from their feebleness and poverty they cannot have a Bishop of their own, or in their ignorant blindness, they do not desire it,—to send to them, at our own cost and charge, and in the Saviour's name, a Missionary Bishop?

Brethren, THE FIELD IS THE WHOLE WORLD. To every soul of man, in every part of it, the Gospel is to be preached. Everywhere, the Gospel is to be preached *by, through, and in* the Church. To Bishops, as successors of the Apostles, the promise of the Lord was given to be with His Church, "alway, to the end of the world." Upon Bishops, as successors of the Apostles, the perpetuation of the Christian ministry depends. With Bishops, as successors of the Apostles, the government of the Church, the preaching of the word, the administration of the sacraments, the care of souls, has been entrusted. Without Bishops, as successors of the Apostles, there is no warrant, and for fifteen hundred years from Christ there was no precedent, for the establishment of the extension of the Church. Professing these things, act accordingly. "Freely ye have received, freely give." Open your eyes to the wants, open your ears to the cry, open your hands for the relief, of a perishing world. Send *the Gospel*. Send it, as you have received it, *in the Church*. Send out, to preach the Gospel, and to build the Church,—to every portion of your own broad land, to every stronghold of the Prince of Hell, to every den and nook and lurking place of heathendom, a Missionary Bishop!

IV. But loud as is the call for this provision, imperative as is our duty to respond to it, *is it consistent with the order, and the genius of this Church to do so?* Yes, my beloved brethren, yes! And if it were not so, it were no Church for us. If it were not so, it were no Church

God, it was provided at the last General Convention—which must be known hereafter as the Missionary Convention—that, on the request of any diocese, however few its parishes or presbyters, the House of Bishops may proceed to nominate a Bishop, who, if duly confirmed by the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, or in the recess of the General Convention, by the several Standing Committees, may be consecrated the Bishop of that diocese. This provision, with the Canon for Missionary Bishops, completes the organization of the Church for the great ends of permanence and increase. The work will now begin at the right end. The Bishop may go out, as Titus went to Crete, "to ordain elders in every city." Dioceses will not be tempted to unseemly efforts to make apparent the canonical quota of parishes and presbyters. Bishops in new dioceses will not of necessity be elected under circumstances the most unfavourable to the best result of that most important transaction. The united wisdom of the fathers of the Church will be exerted for the protection of its infant members. The incipient measures in each diocese, on which so much depends, may be taken under the best auspices. The Clergy in distant and unsettled regions will enjoy episcopal oversight.

of Christ. That could not be the Saviour's awful and beloved spouse, which had no heart to feel for, or no hand to feed, the hungry souls for whom He died. That could not be the Saviour's body which did not bear to each remotest limb, the care, the consolation, and the saving grace of its ascended and triumphant Head. Thank God, it is not, and it never has been, so with us! As from the first, so in all after ages, it has still been competent for the Church of Christ to emulate her Saviour's holy love, in sending out Apostles to the multitudes that wander and are faint, as sheep who have no shepherd. It is of the nature of a *trust*, that there be always given with it authority and power for the due execution of all its proper uses. It is still farther of the nature of a trust, that, on its acceptance, there devolves on the *trustee* the bounden duty to secure, so far as in him lies, its full and faithful execution. Now THE GOSPEL is *God's gift, in trust*, for the conversion and salvation of lost man. THE CHURCH is His *Trustee*.—Admirably indeed is she prepared and fitted for her trust. She is *divinely instituted*. Were she of *human* origin, she would be, like man, uncertain and capricious. She is of God, and like Him cannot fail, and never will betray. Were she a *voluntary* institution, she might cease without a miracle, for want of members. But God is wiser than men; and membership in His Church is thus made part of the plan of salvation. "Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost."⁹ "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved."¹⁰—To discharge the duties of a *continual* trust, the trustee of necessity must have continuance. The Church is, by divine appointment, *perpetual by succession* in the highest order of her ministry. "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth."¹¹ "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you."¹² "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."¹³—The Gospel is to be preached *to every creature*; and co-extensive with this trust is the intended influence of the trustee. "Go ye therefore into all the world, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them." The kingdoms of this world shall all become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ.¹⁴ In other words, the Church of Christ is to become *universal*. And thus, in the capacities and powers essential to the execution of her

⁹St. Matthew xxviii. 19.

¹⁰St. Mark xvi. 16.

¹¹St. Matthew xxviii. 18.

¹²St. John xx. 21.

¹³St. Matthew xxviii. 20.

¹⁴Revelation xi. 15.

trust, is God's trustee, the Church, shown to be "perfect and entire, wanting nothing."

Thence of necessity,—in strict agreement with that wise and equitable rule, "unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required,"¹⁵—flow out *resulting trusts*, immense in value, and of infinite responsibility. She is to be a *Missionary Church*—"to the intent that now," not only to all men, but "unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known by the Church the manifold wisdom of God."¹⁶ Her *Bishops* are *Apostles*, each, in his proper sphere, sent out to "feed the Church of God." Jointly, and in agreement with established principles of order in the Church, they have the power which Christ imparted to the twelve—"as my Father sent me, even so send I you"—to send Apostles in His name. Her *Ministers* are all *Evangelists*, or preachers of glad tidings,—to go wherever God shall call them, through His Church, to bear the blessed tidings of salvation, through the blood of Jesus for a ruined world. Her *members*, baptized into the death of Jesus, and so purchased by His blood, are *Missionaries* all, in spirit and intent; to go, or—if themselves go not—to see that others go; and to contribute faithfully and freely of the ability which God shall give them, to sustain them while they go, and "preach the Gospel unto every creature."

Such, beloved brethren, as the Scripture teaches, and as reason,—justified in all the works of God, and not least clearly in His Church,—most fully and abundantly confirms, is the original, the permanent, the immutable constitution of the Christian Church. Such, by the solemn act of its highest legislative council, is declared to be the Constitution of this Church. Baptized into her, in the name of the eternal Three in One, you become *a party to the trust* with which she is honoured by her heavenly Head, to preach the everlasting Gospel. It is a trust which *no man is free to decline*—for, "unless a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."¹⁷ It is a trust which *no man who has once assumed it can put off*—for his baptismal vow is registered in heaven, and will go with him, in its consequences of unmingled bliss or woe, throughout all eternity. It is a trust which *no man who is permitted to assume it, can, without eternal ruin to his soul, neglect*—for if "any man love not his brother,"—and surely he can never claim to love him, who takes no care for his immortal soul,—"if any man love not his brother whom he hath

¹⁵St. Luke xii. 48.

¹⁶Ephesians iii. 10.

¹⁷St. John iii. 5.

seen, how can he love God, whom he hath not seen."¹⁸ "Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of the least of these ye did it not unto me. And these shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal."¹⁹

Brethren beloved, think upon these things. It has pleased the Lord to make you partakers of salvation, through the Gospel of His Son. Its law of universal love should be engraven on your hearts. "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."²⁰ "Look not every man on his own things, but every man also upon the things of others."²¹ "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ."²² "Love," my brethren, "is the fulfilling of the law."²³ The mark and measure of the love of Jesus Christ for us was shown upon the Cross, in the outpouring of His precious blood. How shall we bear to stand before that bleeding Saviour, when He cometh in the glory of His Father, with the holy angels, if, from our neglect to go, if we are ministers,—if, from our neglect to give, and strive, and pray, if we are members of His Church,—there be one to say, in that dread hour, whom our ministry, our bounty, or our prayers, might have redeemed, through Christ, from death, "No man cared for my soul."²⁴

Beloved brethren, it is recorded of the holy Saviour, as He went about among the cities and villages of Judea, preaching the Gospel of the kingdom, that when He saw the multitudes, He was moved with compassion on them, "because they fainted and were scattered abroad, as sheep having no shepherd. Then saith He unto His disciples, the harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few; pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that He will send forth labourers into his harvest."²⁵ "And when He had called unto Him His twelve disciples," he sent them "to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," to go and preach, saying, "the kingdom of heaven is at hand."²⁶ Behold, dear brethren, in the service which assembles us this day, the result of God's especial blessing on the Church's holy emulation of her Saviour's love. Like Him, and in the pathway which His blessed footsteps traced with tears and blood, the Church has gone about

¹⁸St. John iv. 20.

¹⁹St. Matthew xxv. 45, 46.

²⁰St. Matthew vii. 12.

²¹Philippians ii. 4.

²²Galatians vi. 2.

²³Romans xiii. 10.

²⁴Psalms cxlii. 4.

²⁵St. Matthew ix. 36-38.

²⁶St. Matthew x. 1, 6, 7.

among the villages and cities of this broad and sinful land. Everywhere she has found ignorant to instruct, mourners to comfort, rebels to reclaim, sinners to save. Everywhere she has had need for all the means with which her Saviour has entrusted her, to spread abroad His everlasting Gospel. But the West, the vast and distant and unsettled West, has fixed her eye, and agonized her heart. There indeed has she beheld great multitudes that fainted with the burden of the weary way, and wandered, cheerless and uncared for, as "sheep that have no shepherd." There indeed has she beheld the wily serpent and the prowling wolf, and wept with bitter tears that she could do no more to guard her Saviour's lambs. Moved with compassion, she bethought her of her Saviour's precept. "The harvest truly is plenteous but the labourers are few: pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that He will send forth labourers into His harvest."

Encouraged thus by the divine assurance, she betook herself to prayer. She besought the Lord to have compassion, as He once had in the days of His suffering flesh, upon His erring sheep. She besought Him by His "agony and bloody sweat," His "cross and passion," His "precious death and burial," not to give up His heritage to the heathen, nor His people to reproach. With strong crying and tears, she supplicated the gracious Lord of that abundant harvest, white and bending to the sickle, that He would "send forth labourers into His harvest." He graciously inclined His ear and heard her prayer. He poured upon her members the abundance of His grace, and shed His love abroad in the hearts of His believing people. He was present by His divine and Holy Spirit, in the council of His Church, as He had been in the councils of the Apostles. He harmonized all hearts. He opened and illuminated, with the light from heaven, the eyes of all their minds. He lifted up the hands that hung down, and gave energy and vigour to the feeble knees. He suggested wisdom, He imparted courage, He communicated strength. Above all, He sent His Holy Ghost, and poured into their hearts "that most excellent gift of charity, the very bond of peace and of all virtues"; and so enabled them, *as but one man*, to contrive, digest, mature, propose, accomplish, and carry into practice the great Missionary work, that here, this day, with the whole Church to applaud, and God from heaven, by the clear shining of that glorious sun, smiling consent, we have come up before His altar, to present the first fruit of the Saviour's answer to His Church's agonizing prayer for her lost sheep in the vast West,—her first—God grant that it need not long be said!—her only, Missionary Bishop.

Brethren, it is the pledge of God that He will hear, that He will bless, that He will save His Church, placed thus upon the vantage ground of Christendom, and made—I speak it without the fear of contradiction—the Missionary Church of the whole world. It is your pledge, my brethren, that you will go on, as you have now begun, in the benign and blessed impulse of that Missionary spirit which God has poured upon His Church. Brethren in the Episcopate, it is our pledge, laid up in heaven, that we will go, as Jesus went, to seek and save the lost and dying sheep. Brethren of the parochial Clergy, it is your pledge, that you will do your utmost, “praying with all supplication of the Spirit,” to bring your people, one and all, to sustain us in the work which God has given us to do. Brethren of the Laity, shall it not be your pledge, that from this time forward, true as the day returns, to bring you rest from all your toil, and spiritual comfort in God’s holy house, you will “lay by in store” such portion of His blessing as you shall justly think you owe to Him who saved your souls, and consecrate it, as a *Missionary offering*, to save, through Christ, the souls of other men? God of our salvation, be Thou witness, on Thy throne in heaven, to the sincerity of our united pledge! Write it in Thy book! Write it in our hearts! And send Thy Holy Ghost, to make us perfect in every good word and work, to do in all things Thy most blessed will!

Beloved brother, from the work to which the Lord, we trust, has called you, I may keep you back no longer. You are to go out, in the Saviour’s name, *the first Missionary Bishop* of this Church. Going with the office, go in the spirit, of an Apostle! You are to preach the gospel of salvation to a ruined world. You are to bear “the ministry of reconciliation” to sinful men, the enemies of God, and of their own souls, by wicked works. Like the Apostle Paul, preach to them “Christ crucified.” Like the Apostle Paul, beseech them in Christ’s stead, “be ye reconciled to God.” Like the Apostle Paul, remind them that without holiness, no man shall see the Lord; and implore them, “by the mercies of God,” that they present their bodies, “a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to Him, which is their reasonable service.”—Fear not, dear brother, though the load be heavy, and the way be long. He who hath called you, will give you strength to run the noble race which He has set before you; and, if you are but faithful unto death, will crown you with eternal life.—Fear not, dear brother, though there be many that oppose themselves, and set their battle in array to turn you back from the thrice glorious onset. They that are with you are more than they that are with them; and he

who fighteth upon God's side bears victory and triumph on his banner.—Fear not, dear brother, though the fainting flesh and sinking spirit admonish you how frail the earthen vessel is in which you bear this precious burthen. The God you serve is greater than your heart; and, like the Apostle Paul, with Christ to strengthen you, you can do all things.—Fear not, dear brother, though fatigue and care and sickness may molest, and death, too early for the Church, cut off your work of love. It was through suffering and toil and shame that Jesus went to purchase for us pardon and eternal peace, and on the Cross He poured His soul out for us, with His blood. Remember, “it is a faithful saying,” if we suffer, we shall also reign, and if we die, we shall forever live with Him. Blessed, glorious assurance! Welcome, in Jesus' name, the tears, the toil, the blood! Welcome, for Jesus' sake, the shame, the agony, the death! If we suffer, we shall also reign—if we die, it is to live with Him!—Beloved brother, go!

Go, bear, before a ruined world, the Saviour's bleeding Cross.
Go, feed, with bread from heaven, the Saviour's hungering Church.
Go, thrice beloved, go, and God the Lord go with you!



PRIVATE COMMUNION SET USED BY BISHOP KEMPER ON HIS MISSIONARY VISITATIONS, NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF HIS GRANDSON, THE REVEREND WILLIAM POYNTELL KEMPER, M.A., RECTOR OF ST. JOHN'S PARISH, KINGSTON, NEW YORK, BY WHOM THIS PHOTOGRAPH WAS SUPPLIED.

The inscription reads as follows:

A memorial of esteem & affection

PRESENTED TO THE

R^t Rev^d Jackson Kemper, D.D.

Miss^y Bishop of the P. E. Church

by members of S^t Paul's Parish

Lexington K^y through their

Rector the Rev^d H. I. Leacock

For eleven years (1835-1846), "his saddle-bags contained his worldly goods,—his robes, his *communion service*, his Bible and his Prayer Book."

KEMPER'S MISSIONARY EPISCOPATE: 1835-1859

By Edward Rochie Hardy, Jr., Ph.D.

ON Friday, September 25th, some three weeks after the adjournment of the General Convention of 1835, Kemper was consecrated to the episcopate. The service took place in St. Peter's Church Philadelphia, where, twenty-four years before, he had been ordained to the diaconate. The consecrator was William White, from whom he had received both of the lower sacred orders. This was to be the last of Bishop White's consecrations, which at this time included the whole American episcopate. Of the other bishops who took part in the service and joined in the laying on of hands, Chase of Illinois and Smith of Kentucky represented the western region to which Kemper was being sent. Moore of Virginia and the two brothers Onderdonk, the diocesan of New York and the Assistant Bishop of Pennsylvania, represented the two main groups in the Church, united in their interest in its missionary expansion. Bishop Doane of New Jersey, who had taken so prominent a part in the reorganization of the Missionary Society and the establishment of the office of Missionary Bishop, was suitably chosen as the preacher. His subject was the office of Missionary Bishop,—its necessity, its scriptural and historic authority, its special importance at the present day, its harmony with the spirit of the Protestant Episcopal Church,—for

If it were not so, it were no Church of Christ. That could not be the Saviour's lawful and beloved spouse, which had no heart to feel for, or no hand to feed, the hungry souls for whom he died.

He closed with the words:

Beloved brother, go! Go, bear, before a ruined world, the Saviour's bleeding Cross. Go, feed, with bread from heaven, the Saviour's hungering Church. Go, thrice beloved, go, and God the Lord go with you!¹

¹George Washington Doane, *The Missionary Bishop: The Sermon at the Consecration of the Right Reverend Jackson Kemper, D.D., Missionary Bishop for Missouri and Indiana, Burlington, N. J., 1835*, 56 pp.; quotations from pp. 20 and 30; record of the consecration on pp. 54-55.

With little delay Kemper proceeded to go. Having received assurance of support, and with the Rev. S. R. Johnson as travelling companion, he left Philadelphia on November 3rd. His children were left with relatives in that city; for the next eleven years Kemper was to have no permanent home. At Pittsburgh, Kemper and Johnson were received hospitably by the Rev. George Upfold, rector of Trinity Church. On Sunday, November 8th, Kemper preached twice; on the following evening he, Johnson, and Upfold spoke at a missionary meeting at which nearly \$150 was raised. Such programs were to be Kemper's lot for many years. The next day he and his companion took ship for Cincinnati, pausing there on the 13th to visit the clergy of that city. Shortly after midnight Kemper had entered his diocese and stood on the floating dock at Madison, Indiana.²

His previous trips west of the Alleghanies and continued interest had left Kemper no stranger to the situation and needs of the Church in that part of the country. The state of the Church in Indiana and Missouri, to which he was now sent as Bishop, has often been summarized, beginning with his own reports,—in Indiana one clergyman and no church building, in Missouri one church building, but no clergyman. Indiana, admitted to the Union in 1816, had grown rapidly in population from 60 to 500 thousand. The Episcopal Church had been represented by a disreputable *clericus vagans* who made two appearances at Vincennes, by visiting clergy who had officiated and discovered Episcopalians and possible fields for the Church in the towns along the Ohio, and by a solitary missionary who had attempted to organize parishes in 1823-5, but had withdrawn in discouragement. Earlier in 1835 the Missionary Society had sent a deacon to Indianapolis. Missouri, admitted as a state with some 66 thousand inhabitants in 1820, now had in the neighborhood of 300 thousand. In the old city of St. Louis, Christ Church had been organized in 1819. Most of the time since there had been one or two clergy in the State. Christ Church had completed its first building in 1830, but no permanent foundation had been established elsewhere. At the time of Kemper's election the parish was vacant. He was elected to the rectorship, and secured the Rev. Peter Minard as his assistant.³ In both of these states other Protestant churches had become well-established, while the Roman Catholics were making a good showing with carefully planted institutions, and already had a Bishop and a cathedral at St. Louis.

²On Kemper's journeys, 1835-8, see his triennial report in *The Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 3, 1838, pp. 225-232; on this trip, letter of S. R. Johnson in *The Missionary*, Burlington, New Jersey, Vol. 1, 1835.

³Summaries of early history of the Church in Indiana and Missouri in *Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 2, 1837, pp. 71-75, 77-80.

We left Kemper shivering on the dock at Madison. The next morning, one Mr. Lea, an Episcopalian from Maryland, introduced him to the Church families of the town. Fifteen years before, when services had been held there, a majority of the inhabitants were favorable to the Church; there were still about ten definitely Church families. On Sunday, November 15th, Kemper and Johnson preached, in churches loaned for the occasion. Going to Lawrenceburgh, which he reached by boat at 2 A. M., Kemper was entertained by the local Congressman, met the Episcopalians, and preached to them. On November 19th he and his companion arrived at Louisville, Kentucky. From here as a center, they visited towns across the river,—New Albany and Jeffersonville,—conducting services on the 22nd. In all the places visited good prospects for the Church were seen, and plans made for organizing parishes. The approach of winter made it necessary to hurry on if St. Louis was to be reached. After a slow trip by boat on the Ohio, the Mississippi was found to be frozen, and

it is said passengers are engaged for the stages a fortnight ahead, on account of the number seeking passage who are disappointed by the ice.⁴

Finally on December 19th Kemper and Johnson reached St. Louis.

having rode . . . a part of the way in an open waggon with their trunks for seats, passing through a marsh called *Purgatory*, and crossing a river named *Embarras*, and being allowed time for but one meal in the 24 hours.⁵

For several months Kemper kept his headquarters at St. Louis, making trips from there up the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. Bishop Chase having gone to England to plead for donations for Jubilee College, Kemper at his request made several visits in Illinois, officiating and performing episcopal functions. In the summer he was back in the East,—for money. He had already come to the conviction that the only hope of supplying the West with clergy was to provide means for their training in that part of the country. Although he improved the occasion of his visit East to make contacts at the General and Virginia Seminaries and at Washington (Trinity) College, his main purpose on this occasion was to raise funds for an institution to be founded in Missouri. The news had already trickled through that he was making a good impression “at the far West” and, after initial disappointments, \$20,000 was raised, enough to guarantee a beginning.⁶

⁴*Narrative in Johnson's letter cited above.*

⁵*The Missionary, Vol. 2, 1836, p. 12.*

⁶*In addition to Kemper's report, cf. The Missionary, Vol. 2, pp. 60, 174, 179.*

In the fall Kemper returned to St. Louis, where a board of trustees for the proposed foundation was organized. In December he started visiting in Indiana, where several missionaries were now at work, while Johnson, whose private means of support made him independent of the Board of Missions, was organizing a parish at Lafayette. The rigors of the winter, and a call to join Bishops McIlvaine and Otey in "efforts to restore peace to the diocese of Kentucky" kept him away longer than he had expected. Meanwhile the legislature of Missouri had objected to the name "Missouri College," in view of a possible state university. Consequently the charter was passed on January 6, 1837, with the name "Kemper College" attached. Probably the layman who had the business in hand regarded Kemper as the promoter of the institution, or else merely took his name as that of the first trustee on the list. After spending a short time in St. Louis, to give Minard a little rest, and catch up with his correspondence, Kemper made a brief trip East, hoping to secure some of the year's seminary graduates for the missions and his college. Of this he hoped the first installment would be a school modelled after Muhlenberg's Christian Institute at Flushing. In May he was again at St. Louis, laying the cornerstone of a new building for Christ Church. At Crawfordsville, Indiana, a convocation of the clergy was held and the cornerstone of the first Episcopal Church in that state was laid. The summer was devoted to encouraging visits through Indiana, which only a few years before Bishop Chase had declared to be forever lost to the Church:

we trust, through Divine grace, to prove, in the course of a few years, that if Indiana was ever lost to the Church,
SHE IS REGAINED.⁷

But none of the seminary graduates of the year came to Kemper's aid, and several of his missionary clergy left. Another month was devoted to the affairs of the diocese of Kentucky, whose difficulties were now settled.⁸

The fall of 1837 Kemper spent in Missouri. A convocation of the clergy was held at Fayette, while a western tour carried the Bishop over the borders of the State. At Fort Leavenworth he baptized an officer's child,—at a point, as the father observed, 1,600 miles from the ocean, and 1,600 miles from the head of navigation on the Missouri. With this visit one might say that the Episcopal Church had at last

⁷*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 2, p. 265.

⁸*Greenough White, An Apostle of the Western Church, Memoir of the Right Reverend Jackson Kemper . . . with Notices of Some of His Contemporaries.* New York, 1900, xvi—231 pp.; p. 87.

caught up with the advancing frontier, since now one of its Bishops had stood at the edge of the Indian territory, as it was then being constituted, and discussed the possibility of work among the Indians. Of this and earlier trips in Missouri, Kemper writes:

I have now experienced a little of western adventure, and really entered into it with much more spirit and enjoyment than I could have imagined. . . . Shall I tell you how we were benighted and how we lost our way, of the deep creeks we forded and the bad bridges we crossed—how we were drenched to the skin and how we were wading for half an hour in a slough, and the accidents which arose from the stumbling of our horses, &c? But these events were matters of course. We had daily cause for thankfulness and praise. . . . What a proof of the sluggishness of our movements is the fact that, so far as I can learn, I am the first clergyman of our Church who has preached at Columbia, Boonville, Fayette, Richmond, Lexington, Independence and Fort Leavenworth—in a word, I have been the pioneer from St. Charles up the Missouri! At several places I met with some Episcopalians; but in every place I found immortal and intelligent beings—everywhere I beheld extensive harvests with very few reapers.⁹

The lack of clergy to meet the openings that are available, or even to occupy the stations that have once been established, is his constant complaint.

In January, 1838, Kemper had agreed to travel with Bishop Otey through the southwest, where several dioceses had been organized, but all were without Bishops. Otey's illness required Kemper to carry out this trip alone. It was extended to Florida, and lasted until May, returning through Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana; eight churches were consecrated, two priests were ordained, confirmation was held in most of the parishes visited, and services conducted in a number of places where no Episcopalian clergyman had ever been before. The diocesan organization of Florida and Louisiana and the regular provision of episcopal supervision for this part of the country were among the more remote results of this visit.¹⁰

On his return to St. Louis, Kemper found the affairs of the north calling for attention. The convocation of the clergy of Indiana met in June, and decided to call a convention to organize as a diocese in August. The primary convention of the diocese of Indiana met on August 24th; there were then nine clergy and nine congregations in the diocese.¹¹

⁹*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 3, 1838, p. 74.

¹⁰*Reported by Otey in Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 3, 1838, pp. 265-280.

¹¹*Indiana Convention Journal*, 1838.

In the interval Kemper had visited what was to become the center of his activities,—the territory, as it then was, of Wisconsin. His connection with Wisconsin went back some years. In the summer of 1834 he had paid a visit of inspection to Green Bay on behalf of the Missionary Society. The church had been responsible since 1825 for an Indian school at this settlement, of which the Rev. Richard F. Cadle had been in charge since 1827. Planned as a boarding school on a rather elaborate scale, it was expected to be a center of influence among the then numerous Indians of that area. A parish had been organized in the town in 1829. The school, always subject to financial difficulties, lost its constituency when the government policy of moving Indians west of the Mississippi was adopted. A less pretentious work was carried on among the Oneidas, who had been moved from New York to Duck Creek, under the Rev. Solomon Davis, who had been prominent in securing a satisfactory arrangement of their difficulties with the government.¹² In 1836 when Wisconsin was politically separated from Michigan, the Green Bay vestry, assuming that this would also separate them from that diocese, asked to be put in Kemper's jurisdiction. Bishop McCoskry of Michigan, then recently consecrated, objected to this, with the result that the ecclesiastical status of the territory remained uncertain for two years. It was now arranged that Kemper should visit the territory at McCoskry's formal request, leaving the matter of jurisdiction to be settled by the General Convention.¹³

Settlement was now rapidly beginning along the shore of Lake Michigan, along the Mississippi, and in the southern part of the territory. Cadle, having left Green Bay, where the school was being gradually reduced with a view to its eventual closing, had been officiating in the settlements along the Mississippi. Earlier in 1838 a missionary had been sent to "Milwaukie" and a parish organized. Kemper's visits included a number of places where no previous efforts had been made.¹⁴

When Kemper came to the General Convention of 1838, he could report probably as active and effective a three-years' work as any American bishop has ever had. In the two states of which he had been put in charge, clergy were now stationed and parishes organized and preparations for the attainment of full diocesan status were under way. In addition, Kemper had prepared for the organization

¹²Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., "*Early Episcopalianism in Wisconsin*" (Kemper's journal on his trip in 1834, and documents relating to Green Bay Church and Mission) in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIV, Madison, 1898, pp. 394-515—history of mission summarized in notes on pp. 411-412, 450-451; Oneida petition in *Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 3, 1838, pp. 1-4.

¹³*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 1, 1836, pp. 171-172; Vol. 3, 1838, p. 231.

¹⁴*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 3, 1838, pp. 295-6, 381-2.

of the Church in large areas of the south and southwest, and surveyed the field in the new territories of which the settlement was then beginning. The convention formally placed Wisconsin and Iowa under his charge, together with the Indian Territory north of latitude 36°30'. Since everything west of Iowa (organized as a territory in 1838, and including Minnesota) was Indian Territory, this made Kemper what he soon came to be called,—Missionary Bishop of the Northwest. Sure of his vocation to his missionary work, he declined the election as Bishop of Maryland which was offered him at this time.¹⁵ It must be admitted, however, that the Church gave Kemper much more confidence than support either in men or money. The panic of 1837 had aggravated matters by providing the kind of crisis in religious enterprises with which we have been familiar in more recent depressions. At a meeting in that year Bishop Doane had

forcibly expressed the sentiment that the present exigencies of the times ought not to affect, in an unfavorable manner, the Missionary work of the Church.

But naturally this hope was in vain: in November, 1838, the report of the treasurer for domestic missions was

In four months, received \$5129.17; paid out, \$8231.22.¹⁶

As Bishop Kemper's journeys began to have somewhat more of the character of episcopal visitations and somewhat less that of evangelizing tours, and as the means of transportation in the Middle West improved, his movements became more rapid. A topical order will therefore be more in place than the chronological which has been followed for the first triennium of his episcopate. His attention was first turned after the adjournment of General Convention to his new responsibility for the Indians. The approaching discontinuance of the Green Bay school and mission roused churchmen to the possibility of discharging their responsibility to the original Americans further west. A report that a group of Senecas, settled in the Indian Territory west of Missouri, preserved some remnants of the Christianity they had been taught by missionaries of the S. P. G. in New York roused the interest of the Church. The Rev. H. Gregory was appointed to spend some months as chaplain at Fort Leavenworth, meanwhile surveying possible openings for Indian work. Accompanied by Gregory, Kemper left New York for the west on October 8th. In November they carried out their visit to the Senecas, travelling 250

¹⁵*Cf. resolutions in this connection of the vestry of Christ Church, St. Louis, in White, Apostle of the Western Church, pp. 93-94.*

¹⁶*Spirit of Missions, Vol. 2, 1837, p. 229; Vol. 3, 1838, p. 371.*

miles each way from Boonville, Missouri, over almost uninhabited country. One night was spent in a log-cabin

in which there was no window, but many a crevice that transmitted no uncertain or imperceptible sign of the contention among the elements without. At their meals they were obliged to sit with open door in order to obtain light.

Where they stayed on the following night:

In the middle of the room, which they occupied *in part*, lay a heap of snow which did not melt in the slightest degree.¹⁷

There were, unfortunately, no permanent results from these efforts. The Senecas had lapsed from long neglect, although some of their leaders had maintained lay-reading services until only a few years before. Gregory's final report from Fort Leavenworth made no definite recommendations, finding few possible openings which were not already being taken advantage of by other denominations.¹⁸ An ambitious scheme of establishing an Indian diocese with its own missionary bishop to inaugurate work in the Indian Territory came to nothing. The first beginnings of the Church's work among the Indians west of the Mississippi were to be made under Bishop Kemper's auspices, but not for a good many years. The one active contact with Indians anywhere was the Oneida Mission, where Kemper consecrated Hobart Church on September 2, 1839, the first consecrated church building in Wisconsin.¹⁹

On his return to Missouri in the fall of 1838, Kemper had found that the college so unintentionally named after him was at last open, Minard and others having begun the Grammar School, which was to be the first division of the institution. "There are a few of us," he writes,

"who look to this institution as the means, under God, of producing great things for the Church throughout the immense valley of the Mississippi. In the sacred work of making known the riches of the grace that is in Christ Jesus our Lord, we can do comparatively nothing until natives of the soil are prepared within our own bounds for the ministry."

A Christian school would doubtless raise up candidates for such training.²⁰ Three years later a building had been built, although a con-

¹⁷*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 4, 1839, pp. 29-30.

¹⁸*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 5, 1840, pp. 5-20.

¹⁹*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 9, 1844, pp. 137-9; Vol. 4, 1839, p. 368; *contract and bills for building in Thwaites*, op. cit., pp. 505-515.

²⁰*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 3, 1838, pp. 379-380.

siderable debt was incurred in doing so, and college classes had been begun.²¹ The Rev. S. A. Crane, the first president, was succeeded by the Rev. E. C. Hutchinson in November, 1841, under whom the institution progressed.²² The Rev. Henry Caswall arrived in the same fall as Professor of Divinity, but his actual duties were those of a college chaplain, no theological students having yet appeared.²³ In 1842-3 the college catalogue listed 2 seniors, 3 juniors, 3 sophomores, 11 freshmen, 36 in the preparatory department, and 75 in a rather mysterious medical department.²⁴ Meanwhile the diocese of Missouri had been organized in November, 1840.²⁵ New stations continued to be opened and additional churches were founded in St. Louis; but the difficulty of getting clergy led to long vacancies in all the stations outside of St. Louis County. In 1840 Kemper resigned the rectorship of Christ Church, St. Louis.²⁶

In Iowa the first missionary made his appearance at Burlington in April, 1839, while an army chaplain represented the Church at Fort Snelling in what is now Minnesota.²⁷ Openings were available in each of the main towns as they were settled, but only too often Kemper appealed in vain for men; Iowa

presents a most noble field for the heralds of the cross, but²⁸
as yet they will not come to the western banks of the Missis-
sippi.

In Indiana the often heartbreaking task of trying to keep the old missions filled while founding new ones whenever possible continued. Several efforts were made to obtain a diocesan bishop. Kemper himself was elected to the office in 1841, but declined, saying that

were there not . . . many and great duties connected with the Episcopate to which the whole Church had called him, and which were yet unaccomplished, he could not deny so sacred and useful a station.²⁹

It was in Wisconsin that new and significant developments took place in these years. Kemper's repeated visits to the eastern semi-

²¹*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 6, 1841, pp. 86-87; plate opposite p. 94.

²²(J. O'Fallon and others), *A Statement of Facts in Reply to the Allegations of Certain Presbyters of St. Louis against the Rev. E. Carter Hutchinson and His Friends in Regard to the Affairs of Kemper College and Other Matters*, St. Louis, 1847, 64 pp.; pp. 26, 33-34.

²³Cf. note on Caswall's career, p. 239 below; *Henry Caswall, America and the American Church*, London, 1851, xii—400 pp.; pp. 307-310.

²⁴*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 8, 1843, pp. 98-101.

²⁵*Missouri Convention Journal*, 1840.

²⁶*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 7, 1842, pp. 363-364; Vol. 5, 1840, p. 326.

²⁷*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 4, 1839, pp. 166-7, 234.

²⁸*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 8, 1843, p. 449.

²⁹*Indiana Convention Journal*, 1841, p. 39.

naries had seemed for a long time to be without fruit. In May, 1840, he paid a visit to the General Seminary, which a letter from one of those present describes in the following terms:

Bishop Kemper was here, and addressed us on Friday night last. He gave very great satisfaction, and made us more proud of our "Missionary Bishop" than ever before. His two chief wants at the West are *means* and *men*: the first, to found seminaries of learning to be under the control of the Church; the second, laborers to assist him in preaching the Gospel. The good bishop spoke very plainly respecting the kind of men he wanted, the burthen of which was—self-denying men willing to go there and endure every species of hardship for the sake of Christ and His Church.³⁰

In a manner probably quite unexpected, this appeal harmonized with the generous dreams which were moving some of the young men of Chelsea Square under the influence of the Oxford Movement. Professor Whittingham, Bishop-elect of Maryland, had been looked up to as a leader by the tractarians of the Seminary, and it was to him that they went with their plan of a "Society of Protestant Monks." The scheme, formed by six or eight of the Middle Class, was for a group to go out to work under Bishop Kemper, teaching and preaching, living under one roof,

constituted into a *Religious House*, under a superior. Thus, and thus only, it is believed, can the Romanist be made to feel sensibly the power of the Church Catholic.³¹

Some of the original group dropped out, and others were kept home by their Bishops. Three persevered after their graduation and came out to Wisconsin in August, 1841—James Lloyd Breck, William Adams, and John Henry Hobart.

Kemper's idea of the work was primarily educational—the missionaries to be associated primarily in the work of training men for orders.³² The more exciting ideal of a religious house, although probably impractical at this time, moved the enthusiasm of the recruits. The rather mystified Richard Cadle, whom Kemper had assigned as temporary head of the mission, was referred to by his subordinates as "Prior." Work was at first begun in a number of stations reached from Prairieville (now Waukesha), taking over places

³⁰Letter of James Lloyd Breck, May 30, 1840, in Charles Breck, *The Life of the Reverend James Lloyd Breck, D.D., 3d ed.*, New York, 1886, xxii—557 pp.; pp. 7-8.

³¹W. F. Brand, *Life of William Rollinson Whittingham*, New York, 1886, 2 vols. Vol. 1, pp. 193-194; Breck, *op. cit.* p. 8.

³²Cf. letter of November 7, 1840, below, p. 228.

which Hull, the missionary at Milwaukee, had been visiting. In the following spring, Cadle left for more conventional missionary work elsewhere in the Territory, and Breck shortly became the head of the mission. Later that same year their headquarters were moved to Nashotah, where a semi-monastic life was established with a few students. After several changes, Breck was left as the only clerical member of the Brotherhood, although Adams returned in 1844 to teach in the institution. The common life was maintained, however, by enrolling the students as lay brothers. In February, 1844, there were 13 divinity students, 5 of them candidates. The first ordination took place in May, 1845—the Swede, Gustaf Unonius, ordained for the Scandinavian parish which had been formed in the neighborhood—and thereafter several were graduated each year.³³ The development would have been impossible without the continued support of Bishop Kemper, who seized every suitable opportunity for expressing his confidence in the Nashotah project, and sent candidates there whenever possible from the other parts of his jurisdiction as well as from Wisconsin.

The gradual increase of the Church kept up the arduousness of Kemper's journeys. Thus his schedule for 1842 called for spending March in Wisconsin, April in Indiana, May in Missouri and at the Indiana Convention; June and July were to be given to Missouri and Iowa; August, September and October to Wisconsin and Iowa; November to Missouri; December to Indiana.³⁴ His annual report in 1843 mentioned that in the year covered by it he had preached or spoken 221 times "in churches, school-houses, upper rooms, barns, etc. . . ."³⁵ His report of the following year summarizes the travels of twelve months. In June, 1843, he was in Indiana, then came East to attend the meetings of the Board of Missions and the Trustees of the General Seminary. In July he returned to make more visits in Indiana and attend the Kemper College Commencement. August was spent in Indiana and Iowa and on a visit to the upper Mississippi (the Bishop's first entrance into Minnesota). In September he visited Nashotah and other points in Wisconsin, attending towards the end of the month the Missouri Convention, at which important matters were taken up. October and part of November was given to a fruitless attempt to secure more recruits from the East. In December visits were made in Indiana and a flying trip taken to St. Louis; the rest of the winter was devoted to Wisconsin.

³³*Breck, op. cit.* pp. 19-52; *Theodore I. Holcomb, An Apostle of the Wilderness, James Lloyd Breck, New York, 1903, xiv—195 pp.; pp. 7-18.*

³⁴*Spirit of Missions, Vol. 7, 1842, p. 94.*

³⁵*Spirit of Missions, Vol. 8, 1843, p. 300.*

On the festival of our Lord's Resurrection, I preached three times in St. Louis, administered the Lord's Supper, and confirmed seven persons at St. Paul's, twenty-one at Christ Church, and fifteen at St. John's.

Further visits in Missouri followed, but most of May was spent at Kemper College, floods near St. Louis preventing departure for intended visits in Indiana. The number of sermons and lectures this year was 184, not counting Sunday School addresses and missionary meetings.³⁶

Relief was at last obtained in 1844. The Missouri Convention had decided in 1843 to elect its own Bishop, and chose the Rev. Cicero S. Hawkes. A number of changes in the diocese prevented it from having the required number of presbyters resident for a year, so that while Hawkes became rector of Christ Church, it was necessary to take advantage of a canonical provision then existing for such cases and request the General Convention of the following year to elect him as Bishop of the diocese. This was done, and with his consecration the first part of Kemper's extensive missionary territory acquired independent status.³⁷ By a coincidence most convenient to the historian, the election of diocesan Bishops for territories formerly included in Kemper's missionary jurisdiction was to follow at intervals of five years, thus dividing the remainder of his missionary episcopate into equal periods. The separation of Missouri was unhappily followed by an event most distressing to Bishop Kemper—the closing of Kemper College. At the commencement of 1844 it was apparently flourishing; all of the seniors and juniors were communicants, and two of the three graduates of the year had become candidates for Holy Orders.³⁸ Caswall, who had returned to England, had secured a donation of books for the library. But the burden of debt, and disagreements among the trustees, the new Bishop, and the President, led to Hutchinson's resignation and the collapse of the institution in the spring of 1845. Caswall's feeling that Kemper lacked interest in the college owing to its charter, which gave it his name but left the control in the hands of self-perpetuating trustees, does not seem to be justified. His reports of the years when it was in operation always speak of his visits to it as matters of encouragement. While he refrained, with his regard for propriety, from attempting to influence the affairs of the diocese of Missouri, he wrote in a private letter of 1846 that the end of the college "has almost broken my heart."³⁹

³⁶*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 9, 1844, pp. 274-279.

³⁷*Missouri Convention Journal*, 1843 and 1844; for the Canon (1 of 1835), cf. E. G. White, *Constitution and Canons*, New York, 1924, viii—1,061 pp.; p. 363.

³⁸*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 9, 1844, p. 316.

³⁹Caswall, *America and the American Church*, pp. 307-9; *Statement of Facts*, *passim*—letter quoted on p. 11.

The repercussions of the Oxford Movement and the opposition it aroused caused a certain amount of unpleasantness for Bishop Kemper. When the Indiana Convention met in June, 1844, rumors were being spread of Romanizing tendencies among the Bishop and his clergy. In comment he spoke of the duties of love and forbearance as specially binding

when reviling accusations are on every tongue and we are rapidly advancing in the high privilege of being persecuted, because we boldly, though I trust in meekness, maintain the faith as it was once delivered to the Saints. So long as we believe that Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite and necessary to salvation: so long as we prefer the interpretation of the Church of the living God . . . as it was recorded in the early creeds, the ordinal, the prayer book, and the thirty-nine articles to the crude and bold notions of modern divines—so long we may be confident that no weapon formed against us shall prosper.⁴⁰

There are references both to attacks within the Church and to increasing suspicion of popery on the part of those without. In 1846 the definite charge was being made that the Bishop's Puseyism and attempts to influence his clergy in that direction were the cause of the shortage of contributions for domestic missions. Kemper replied by asking the clergy of Indiana to write directly to the Secretary's office, reporting any such attempts on his part. Most of the letters written in consequence refer to the Bishop's lack of party spirit and the evangelical character of his sermons.

Kemper had been brought up in Trinity Church, New York, in the years of Hobart's parochial ministry. He had served for many years under Bishop White. There can be no doubt that he remained loyal throughout his life to the religion and theology learned in his youth. The watchword "Evangelical Truth and Apostolic Order" represents what he sincerely believed and taught. Thus in 1845 he addressed the members of the Indiana Convention as "Catholics of the primitive stamp," holding to the doctrines of the Cross and the practice of the Book of Common Prayer, and expressed the hope that out of the troubles of the Church would come clearer

views of the great doctrines of grace, and of the inestimable privileges with the body of Christ.⁴¹

⁴⁰*Indiana Convention Journal, 1844, pp. 11-12.*

⁴¹*Indiana Convention Journals, 1845, pp. 7, 11.*

If he was a High Churchman, he belonged to the pre-tractarian period. If partisan Evangelicalism distressed him, so did any leanings towards Romanism. Sincere devotion among his subordinates received his full support, no matter from what side it came. At the trial of Bishop Onderdonk of New York, 1844-5, Kemper took his place as one of the judges (the trial of bishops being confided at this time to the entire House). There can be no doubt that Onderdonk was condemned for alleged immorality by those who had personal or doctrinal grounds of difference with him. Kemper's votes for acquittal and for the lightest possible sentence after conviction was obtained agree with the verdict of history. He counted himself afterwards among Bishop Onderdonk's friends, who did their best to secure his restoration.⁴²

Self-supporting parishes began to appear in Wisconsin after 1845. "Happy Milwaukee will require no more aid," was Kemper's comment on the first. Part of the winter of 1845-6 was spent at Milwaukee, where Kemper co-operated with the local rector in beginning a new parish.⁴³ In 1746 Kemper occupied a house near Nashotah, which was to be his residence for the rest of his life, and which at last enabled him to settle his family in the West. A son entered Nashotah, while a daughter was to become Mrs. Adams.⁴⁴ The reports of the next few years are encouraging. Nashotah was now regularly producing clergy for the western mission. Wisconsin, soon to become a state, became in 1847 a diocese, with 25 parishes and 23 clergy. In a population of some 150 thousand the Church counted nearly a thousand communicants. Numbers in Indiana were almost equal, although growth in Iowa was impeded by vacancies in several missions. In 1849 the Territory of Minnesota was organized, and Kemper began to look for missionaries for the new settlement there. In the same year George Upfold, who had entertained Kemper at Pittsburgh fourteen years before, was elected and consecrated Bishop of Indiana.⁴⁵

A convenient dividing point in Kemper's episcopate has now been reached, since his original territory (Indiana and Missouri) had achieved diocesan organization, and the remaining years were to open up still further new districts. Kemper's life at home, for such periods as he was there, has been described on the basis of family reminiscences, which deserve inclusion in this article:

He rose early, at five o'clock in summer and six in winter, and attributed his established health in large measure to his habitual morning bath in cold water. . . . At a

⁴²Cf. *letter pf. November 13, 1849, published below, p. 229.*

⁴³*Spirit of Missions, Vol. 11, 1846, pp. 7, 279-284.*

⁴⁴*White, Apostle of the Western Church, p. 113.*

⁴⁵*Kemper's annual reports; Indiana and Wisconsin Convention Journals.*

quarter before seven he had family prayers, and at seven breakfasted, always taking two cups of coffee with a great deal of sugar. . . . The rest of the morning he spent in his study, preparing for official duties, attending to his correspondence, making up his accounts, and reading. He made it a rule to read daily in his Greek Testament and in some solid book, preferably of divinity, and generally found time to do some light reading beside, making it a point to keep up with the news of the day through journals and reviews. He enjoyed books of humor [but did not care much for novels]

At one o'clock he dined with his family and frequently had guests. . . . In memory of White, he always had his candidates dine with him immediately after their ordination. His house became a gathering place for the clergy, and he entertained distinguished visitors from the East, in increasing numbers after Nashotah became a station on the railroad between Milwaukee and the Mississippi. His was a liberal soul; and so simple were his tastes and so perfect was his economy that out of his annual missionary stipend of fifteen hundred dollars he was able to give largely to struggling missions in his field; there was probably no one in the church who gave away more in proportion to his income than he. He hardly ever had wine upon his table, one of the few exceptions being Christmas day, which, after he had formed a home in Wisconsin, he always tried to spend with his family. He sometimes drank a little beer, but weeks and months would often pass without his touching it. He liked desserts, having indeed a taste for sweets, as he had also for bright colors.

After dinner, if weather permitted, he would drive for hours or ride horseback, for he never acquired the habit of taking a nap in the afternoon. He liked to be much in the open air, and to this also he owed the firm health of his maturer years. . . . He was considerate of his domestics, and they revered and delighted to serve him. He preferred to help himself as much as possible; carried his own portmanteau upon his travels; and never coveted precedence or expected to be waited on. . . . He had a horror of debt as of a plague, impressing it upon his clergy, and earnestly discountenanced ambitious schemes of church building beyond a congregation's means. . . . Connected with this attribute was his conscientious recognition of social obligations; all through his episcopate, as time and strength permitted, he was particular about making and returning calls.

At supper, which was at six o'clock, he always took two large cups of tea, very much sweetened; and afterwards sat and talked with his family and friends. At nine he had prayers, and retiring immediately after, was in bed by ten. . . . He slept without waking until daybreak.

Sunday he kept as a day of holy rest and refreshment, equally removed from the strictness of the Presbyterian and the laxity of the Romanist. He always appeared at both morning and evening services; paid pastoral visits to the old and infirm; and gave such Christian hospitality as did not encroach upon his servants' rest. He never read newspapers on that day, or traveled if he could possibly help it. His children looked back to the Sundays spent with him as to glimpses of Paradise on earth; and Christmas was the crown of all the year. Every Twelfth-night he entertained the students of Nashotah.⁴⁶

Kemper's official relations connected him both with the national Church and with his own jurisdiction in various ways. Every bishop was in those days a member not only of the House of Bishops, but of the Board of Missions and the Trustees of the General Seminary. Kemper attended the first regularly, the second often, the third not infrequently, rarely putting himself forward in business, but taking advantage of the personal contacts offered for the benefit of his work. His own salary and the missionary appropriations for his clergy were appropriated by the domestic committee of the Board of Missions, composed of four presbyters and four laymen, and meeting at New York. Any bishop could attend, but few except occasionally Kemper or the Bishop of New York did. There was some of the inevitable friction which arises from the support of missions in an Episcopal Church by a representative body. Attempts were made to eliminate this by working out a system of making appropriations and appointments through the Missionary Bishops rather than over their heads. But successful co-operation depended on courtesy and understanding on both sides, which was usually forthcoming.

The Convention of 1835 had not conceived the idea of Missionary Districts, as we now know them, with an organization paralleling that of dioceses. Its Canon on the subject thought of the Missionary Bishop as sent out into states and territories, which he would organize into dioceses as soon as possible. Hence, after holding informal convocations of the clergy, Kemper proceeded to introduce diocesan organization into Indiana, Missouri, and Wisconsin. Not until 1853 did the Canons allow for the appointment of Standing Committees in missionary jurisdictions. The holding of convocations of clergy and laity, similar to diocesan conventions, seems to have grown up spontaneously in the following years, and simultaneously under Kemper in Minnesota and on the Pacific coast.⁴⁷

⁴⁶*White, op. cit., pp. 113-117.*

⁴⁷*The relevant canons are most easily seen in White, Constitution and Canons, on Canons 14 and 19.*

Kemper's formal and constitutional relations with his jurisdiction were, of course, much less important than his work of organizing and visiting. Even when congregations had been organized, Kemper's visitations were much more than a formal visit to administer confirmation. He usually stayed for several days, often preaching more than once on Sunday, and perhaps on Saturday and Monday as well. He often arranged to be accompanied on his trips by one or two of the clergy. In visiting new places he would make, or perhaps find made for him, an appointment to preach, administer the sacraments to Episcopalians of the neighborhood, and sound out the possibilities of organizing a parish. At a vacant post he would take charge of the parish for as long as he could spare. Thus in 1842 he arrived at Indianapolis just before Palm Sunday, and

during fifteen days I celebrated the solemn daily services of the Church nineteen times, preached eighteen times, baptised two children, confirmed four persons, administered the Lord's Supper, when two were added to the list of communicants, visited throughout the parish, instructed the children in the Church catechism, and devoted Easter afternoon to a Sunday School which has been sustained and taught for years in the suburbs of the city, by two indefatigable members of the Church.⁴⁸

Most of Kemper's journeys were made by water, whenever possible, or else by stage or private conveyance on land. Not until towards the end of his missionary episcopate were railroads constructed in sufficient extent to be of considerable assistance. To the discomforts of some of his trips near the frontier were added the inconveniences of others, as when unexpected delays occurred, or when a bag, containing a year's official records, was lost in the Ohio River. On one occasion, when difficulties with canal boat and carriage had delayed Kemper on a visit to Richmond, Indiana, he passed the church window as the gospel was being read, and was in the pulpit before the singing was finished.⁴⁹

The clergy, whom Kemper was constantly struggling to get and to keep, were, of course, the main instruments in his work. The difficulty in keeping clergy was largely financial. The Missionary Society rarely appropriated more than \$250.00 towards any missionary's salary, assuming that more would be raised locally. Kemper's estimate of minimum necessary salaries was \$250.00 for a single man, \$500.00 if married. Western congregations often either could not or would not contribute, and various circumstances often led to long

⁴⁸*Indiana Convention Journal*, 1842, p. 14.

⁴⁹*Indiana Convention Journal*, 1845, p. 14.

delays in the missionary stipends. Consequently it was not surprising that mixed with the self-sacrificing and able men there were others who only came West because they could not find parishes at the East. Of such Kemper said:

The experience of my clerical brethren, and of myself, fully authorizes the declaration . . . that able men, thoroughly instructed as sound divines, and prepared to refute every error, and only such, should come to the West. Those who cannot succeed at the East—who are illiterate, ignorant of human nature, indolent, or characterized by great peculiarities, would be useless here. The post demands skilful, vigilant, and brave soldiers, ready to endure hardships for the Great Captain of our salvation. How useless to send to such a station the maimed, the careless, or the unlearned!⁵⁰

Once or twice Kemper was obliged to listen to complaints against his clergy, even to depose some of them. Most of his relations, however, were cordial—well-expressed by what he uttered as farewell words to the Indiana Convention, "I have loved you, and you have honored me."⁵¹

The greater interest of such ventures as Nashotah and of Kemper's personal activity must not make us forget that the central aim of his office as Missionary Bishop was to supervise and encourage the formation of parishes. Whether first started by Kemper or by others, these normally followed a regular course, from holding services to renting a room to building a church. The first services might be held almost anywhere—in court-houses, schoolroom, or in another church loaned for the purpose. At Jefferson City and Madison the statehouse was sometimes available. At one time when the parish at Madison was being revived after a lapse, services were conducted for a while in the Capitol Park. On his return journey from the Indian Territory in 1838, Kemper preached in the bar of a tavern, that being the largest room in the community where he found himself on Sunday. As soon as possible, a regular congregation would rent a room which could be fitted up as a church. Church building would follow, with an Episcopal visit for the cornerstone laying and again for the consecration. Kemper was opposed to appeals in the East for churches, except under definitely unusual circumstances. Sometimes, however, friends or former parishioners in the East or even in England did make substantial donations. Kemper invariably opposed building beyond the means of the parish or running into debt. In this he found himself

⁵⁰*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 6, 1841, p. 316.

⁵¹*Indiana Convention Journal*, 1847, p. 14.

running up against the temptation of the clergy to think that a church building might draw support when the preaching of the Gospel had failed to do so, and that of the laity to look to the outward appearance of their town and of the Episcopal Church in it.

The regular services of the Church were the chief program of these early Middle Western parishes. Kemper's Prayer Book principles would lead him to approve of the traditional morning service (Morning Prayer, Litany, and Ante-Communion) whenever possible, although some shortening was sometimes winked at. The use of the Prayer Book with congregations sometimes entirely strange to it raised difficulties, especially since Prayer Books were not relatively as cheap and easily obtainable for distribution as now. Missionaries, however, usually felt proud of an increasing volume of responses and considered spreading knowledge of the Prayer Book itself a valuable missionary act. The practical difficulties of western missionaries were one of the motives behind the desire for greater liturgical freedom expressed in the Muhlenburg Memorial of 1853. Vestments seem sometimes to have been dispensed with, even by the Bishop, in new parishes as well as when officiating informally. A gift of a surplice or a gown, however, was always appreciated. Besides its services, the only formal activities of a parish were usually a Sunday School and some kind of a woman's society. More careful training of children for confirmation was one of the points which Bishop Kemper stressed. The clergy or their wives sometimes conducted schools, but this was more often a regretted financial necessity than an integral part of their work.

One sometimes gets the impression that the laity had to be coaxed into taking any interest in the extension of the Church among them. Old Episcopalians from the East often dropped easily into other churches, while English immigrants were rarely heard from at all. This was by no means always the case. Only lay interest, of course, made possible the organization of parishes. Often we hear of an aged Episcopalian immigrant who brings his children and grandchildren to the sacraments when the Church at last catches up with him. The presence of a single enthusiastic layman might often make the difference between a possible and an impossible situation—and the removal of such a man, on the other hand, might be the end of a promising mission. Lay reading by members of the parish sometimes kept a congregation together during a prolonged vacancy. In a few cases (as at Stevens Point, Wisconsin,) services were started and a parish begun by a layman moving to a new town. The laity of Bishop Kemper's West were all newly arrived, and often on the move again. On the whole, they did very well.

Relations with other churches were on the whole rather friendly. Protestant churches often loaned their buildings and gave other signs of co-operation. Rome, often represented at this period by French clergy, was regarded as a danger—able to plant schools which might attract the children of Episcopal parents and lead them into idolatry. In some places the Episcopalians seem to have been a more liberal and educated element where other religious influences were more fundamentalist. At least, it is noted at Burlington, Iowa, and at Milwaukee that the formation of Unitarian churches cut into what had been part of the Episcopal constituency.⁵²

Relieved of his duties in Indiana by Upfold's consecration, Kemper devoted himself more energetically to his remaining territories. In 1851 the first ordination and church consecration in Iowa took place. Several congregations had been formed in Minnesota. Two army chaplains further west considered themselves in Bishop Kemper's jurisdiction.⁵³ In Wisconsin a crisis had occurred in the affairs of Nashotah. The staff had consisted for some years of Breck as head and Adams as professor. A reaction against Breck's severe ideals of discipline, and the failure of any other priest to join him in the community life, led him to leave Nashotah in 1850. Perhaps a certain restlessness in Breck's disposition, which made it easier for him to begin a new enterprise than to administer an established one, also contributed. The result worked out for the good of the Church. The Rev. Azel D. Cole was appointed president of Nashotah, which developed usefully along the academic lines Kemper had originally planned for it. Meanwhile, Breck with two companions established an associate mission at St. Paul. This was at first designed as another Nashotah, which Kemper naturally objected to. Instead Breck's activities developed in another direction, laid the foundation of the Church around St. Paul, and then in 1852 were transferred to an Indian mission 150 miles further north.⁵⁴

Growth continued in Iowa, where the assistance of the Missionary Society was supplemented by that of the (Evangelical) Philadelphia Association for the West. By 1853 there were seven clergy in Minnesota, where rapid immigration had now set in.⁵⁵ In that year Iowa was organized as a diocese, and in 1854 Henry Washington Lee became its Bishop. Kemper now called attention to the claims of

⁵²Authority for statements in this general survey may be found in the official sources—reports of Kemper and other missionaries in *Spirit of Missions* and diocesan journals, especially *Indiana* and *Wisconsin*.

⁵³*Annual report in Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 16, 1851, pp. 369-372.

⁵⁴*Wisconsin Convention Journals, 1850-1851; Breck, op. cit., pp. 96-232; Holcombe, op. cit., 35-90.*

⁵⁵*Kemper's annual report, in Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 18, 1853, pp. 483-487.

Kansas and Nebraska.⁵⁶ In the same year Kemper accepted the diocesan episcopate of Wisconsin, which he had refused in 1847—thus preparing to assume as a place of retirement the office which for others is usually the crowning task of a lifetime.⁵⁷

The last five years of Kemper's missionary episcopate were by no means unimportant, however. Besides Minnesota, he had a vague jurisdiction over points west. The increase of railroad facilities in Wisconsin made it possible for him to give time both to his growing diocese and to his missionary territory.⁵⁸ Kansas was now in the troubled period of its settlement. In the summer of 1856 Kemper visited Nebraska, in conjunction with Bishop Lee, and held services at several places in Kansas. At Council City he confirmed two candidates who had been prepared for that rite in Litchfield, Connecticut, but had left home before the Bishop's visit.

The Holy Communion was desired; and I was anxious to administer that most salutary sacrament, but wine could not be procured.⁵⁹

The status of the Church in the new territories being somewhat doubtful, the presiding Bishop (Brownell of Connecticut) suggested that Kemper should take charge of the work in Kansas and Lee of that in Nebraska, but without attempting any formal organization under their jurisdiction. Under this arrangement Kemper visited Kansas during the next three years, watching over the stationing of missionaries, the building of churches, and the organization of parishes as in the early days of his work in Indiana and Missouri.⁶⁰

A similar process went on in Minnesota, where a diocese was organized in 1857. Breck had advanced from his first Indian mission to found another. Circumstances beyond his control (mainly the increase of Indian disorders owing to undesirable white influence) drove him from this work in 1857, and required the eventual closing of the first mission. He settled at Faribault to revive the early missionary days of Nashotah in the interior of Minnesota, and laid the foundation of the cluster of institutions which was to do so much for the Church in that state. A few Indians came with him, including a Chippewa candidate for Orders, John Johnson, or Emmegabowh. In 1859 the diocese of Minnesota, which now included several self-supporting parishes, elected its first Bishop, Whipple. The ordina-

⁵⁶*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 19, 1854, pp. 505-507.

⁵⁷*Wisconsin Convention Journals*, 1847 and 1854.

⁵⁸*Wisconsin Convention Journal*, 1854, p. 8.

⁵⁹*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 21, 1856, pp. 620-621.

⁶⁰*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 22, 1857, and Kemper's reports.

tion of Emmegabowh to the diaconate was almost Kemper's last official act as a Missionary Bishop.⁶¹ The first ordination of an Indian in the Episcopal Church was the beginning of our western Indian work of today, and a suitable end to a missionary episcopate, which thus terminated, as it had begun, with the breaking of new ground.

Kemper had expressed his intention of laying down his missionary commission at the approaching General Convention of 1859. In the states and territories which had been under his care there were now: in Missouri, a bishop and 27 clergy; in Indiana, a bishop and 25; in Wisconsin, 55 clergy, besides Kemper; in Iowa, a bishop and 31 clergy; in Minnesota, 20 clergy, with a bishop-elect; in Kansas (which had organized as a diocese, somewhat against Kemper's wishes), 10 clergy; in Nebraska, 4 clergy.⁶²

Kemper resigned in the following words, in which, at the age of 70, he still looks more into the future than into the past:

I now with deep emotion tender to the Church my resignation of the office of Missionary Bishop, which, unsought for, and entirely unexpected, was conferred upon me twenty-four years ago. Blessed with health, and cheered by the conviction of duty, I have been enabled to travel at all seasons through Indiana, Missouri, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, and partly through Kansas and Nebraska. . . . If any one, perhaps I can realize the immense field of labor and final triumph that is before us. Let our Missionary Bishops be increased—let them be multiplied. The West, the mighty West, demands immediate and thorough attention. Thus far, what we have even attempted, has been but as it were, a drop in the ocean. What ought we not to do for Pike's Peak (soon to be organized into a territory) with its one hundred thousand inhabitants? What for New Mexico, Dacotah, Deseret, and those other vast regions, both South and West, into which the hardy emigrant is pressing, and where, I fear, before we act, there will be a million of people, and among them a goodly number who once enjoyed all the sacred privileges we now possess.⁶³

This article has attempted to be an account of Kemper's missionary episcopate—neither a chapter from his life, nor a history of the Church in the regions under his care. The former would require a full use of the Kemper manuscripts, while the latter would have to be worked out in close connection with the local history of the various

⁶¹*Minnesota Convention Journals, 1857-9; Spirit of Missions, Vol. 23, 1858, pp. 595-599; Vol. 24, 1859, pp. 588-589; Breck, op. cit., pp. 181-352; Holcombe, op. cit., pp. 69-150.*

⁶²*Spirit of Missions, Vol. 24, 1859, p. 543.*

⁶³*Spirit of Missions, Vol. 24, 1859, pp. 591-592.*

states and towns involved. It is to be hoped that both projects may some time be accomplished. Meanwhile there stands out from the official records of Kemper's activities as Missionary Bishop one rather startling fact. We are accustomed to a standard summarizing of the history of the Episcopal Church in which a description of its inactivity in extending itself after the Revolution is followed by a reference to the great principle adopted at the General Convention of 1835 and it is implied that then everything was all right. This was not the case. The Church failed to carry out its announced intentions, its implied promises to its first Missionary Bishop. If the domestic committee of the Board of Missions had had only \$60,000 a year to spend in Bishop Kemper's time instead of \$30,000—if Kemper had had only a few more men—much more would certainly have been accomplished. In Indiana and Missouri, to be sure, the settlement was well advanced when Kemper arrived. But in Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, the Church was on the scene with the first white settlers, as soon as anybody else. Lack of men, or of cash to support them, led to the long series of promising openings which were not followed up, or followed up too late. Moreover, few except Kemper and Breck were able to survey the situation as a whole. Most of the clergy, driven to concentrate on building up their parishes by the weakness of their support from home, scarcely got beyond their most obvious source for a congregation—the already Episcopalian immigrants—leaving to others the evangelization of the unchurched. No wonder Kemper wrote in 1853:

I have almost thought at times I commanded the forlorn hope.⁶⁴

The wonder is that he accomplished what he did.

Kemper's personality as it stands out in his career as Missionary Bishop might be well summed up in words he himself applied to the Church:

so mild, so conservative, and yet so decided.⁶⁵

There were elements of gentleness, even of sentiment, among the attractive features of his character. After studying this period it is rather startling to remember that Kemper was a New Yorker by birth, and that it is Columbia College which hangs his portrait among its distinguished alumni. For the West seems to have inspired in him a genuine affection—especially Wisconsin. His ability to leave

⁶⁴*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 18, 1853, p. 483.

⁶⁵*Indiana Convention Journal*, 1843, pp. 18-19.

those under him freedom to work in their own way, even when their opinions or choice of methods differed from his, is a remarkable quality among organizers. Yet it never left in doubt his firm adherence to the ancient principles of the Church and of the Gospel, or prevented him from insisting, when it seemed necessary to do so, on the rights of his office. But above all, he possessed that calm devotion to duty which is perhaps the most typically Anglican form of Christian character. Never did he ask of others what he did not exemplify himself. A striking incident of 1856 illustrates his character better than a long eulogy could do it. Civil disturbances made traveling in Kansas unsafe. A missionary on his way there was therefore directed to wait in Wisconsin—until the Bishop returned from his preliminary visit to the territory.⁶⁶

⁶⁶*Spirit of Missions, Vol. 21, 1856, pp. 343-4.*

KEMPER'S DIOCESAN EPISCOPATE: 1854-1870

By Rt. Rev. Frank E. Wilson, S.T.D.

Bishop of Eau Claire

THE State of Wisconsin covers 55,000 square miles—six thousand more than the State of New York, including Long Island. When Bishop Kemper first entered the State in 1838, it contained twelve thousand white settlers (now it has a population of three million). For the next eight years he was in and out, covering his enormous field with no settled residence. Finally, in 1846, a house was secured for him on the outskirts of Nashotah, and there he made his home for the rest of his life.

His missionary policy was to build up sufficient Church strength in a given state to carry itself as a diocese and then to release it from his jurisdiction to make its way under its own bishop. This he accomplished in Indiana and Missouri. The time came when conditions seemed ripe for Wisconsin to follow suit and in 1847 he called a Primary Convention for the organization of a diocese and the election of a bishop. By unanimous vote Kemper himself was elected bishop. He refused to commit himself at that time and later declined the election. Before this, he had declined similar elections in Maryland and Indiana. He still believed the time had not yet come for him to relinquish the broad missionary field to which the Church had called him a dozen years before. For the next seven years he continued a strictly missionary episcopate, giving to Wisconsin only its proper share of his comprehensive attention.

In 1854, when he was sixty-five years of age and had nineteen years of incessant missionary travel behind him, he was willing to revise his earlier decision. For the second time the Convention, in that year, elected him Bishop of Wisconsin and he accepted the office. The new diocese, however, was not yet able to bear the expense of his salary and for several years he continued to receive the munificent stipend of fifteen hundred dollars a year from the Board of Missions, in return for which he rendered certain missionary services beyond the borders of his own State. It was not until 1859 that he resigned once for all his office as Missionary Bishop and the Diocesan

Convention voted to assume the obligation of his salary, which was fixed at two thousand dollars a year, including his traveling expenses. The records indicate that he failed to receive even that amount for a year or two after it had been voted.

Two difficulties confronted him from the outset of his diocesan episcopate. The first was the eternal question of finances. Plans were on foot for the creation of an episcopal endowment fund when the financial depression of 1857 swept the country with disastrous and lingering effect. Even before that, in his address to the Convention of 1856, Kemper deplored the lack of funds for missionary expansion with endless opportunities staring him in the face. The two thousand dollars at his disposal had to be spread out so thin that no missionary received more than \$150. For the ensuing year's budget \$1,950 was already allocated in such paltry amounts as he had mentioned, leaving him exactly \$50 with which to enter a dozen new fields where excellent prospects called for action. A curious proposal came before the Convention in the year of the depression. The Trustees held a sum of two thousand dollars as the nucleus of an endowment fund. It was stated that this amount of money could purchase 1,600 acres of government land in Wisconsin which, in the course of five years, could be sold again at anywhere from two hundred to a thousand per cent profit. The Trustees were authorized to make the venture, but the following year they reported that they declined to do as ordered, considering it preferable to invest the funds in good mortgages bearing the modest interest rate of twelve per cent. One year later the Bishop reported: "We have Missionaries in the field—must they be withdrawn? . . . Our treasury is empty. I am powerless." The following year he stated: "These are indeed times to try men's souls. Business has been stagnant; immense debts are resting upon our State, and many places, once thriving, are now dull, if not decaying. In the meanwhile the love of not a few has waxed cold, while iniquity abounds more and more. . . . Our treasury is not only empty, it has been in debt for a month past, while not one of our small but noble band of self-sacrificing Missionaries has been paid a cent of his salary, due the 1st of the month."

His second great trial was the instability of his clergy. Too often, men who were failures in the east or who were obliged to leave some parish for the good of the parish, came out into a new field like Wisconsin as a last resort. There they simply repeated their record of incompetence, much to the disadvantage of a new and growing work which required courage, self-sacrifice, and a large measure of spiritual pertinacity. In 1859 Kemper lamented that "But six clergymen have been added to our number, while no less than thirteen have left us."

Like Philander Chase, he recognized the necessity of rearing his own crop of candidates for Holy Orders and therefore concentrated his attention more and more heavily on the development of Nashotah House.

Considering his advanced age, Kemper's activities continued to be little short of amazing. Taking one of his reports at random, in 1860, when he was seventy-one years old, he recorded thirty-three baptisms for the year and 305 confirmations in twenty-six visitations; he ordained eight Deacons and six Priests; he organized five parishes and laid the corner stones of four church buildings; he made missionary trips into Minnesota and Kansas; in that same year he consecrated Bishop Whipple for Minnesota and Bishop Talbot for the missionary bishopric of the North-West, and attended the sessions of General Convention. By that date he could rejoice in the luxury of plank roads and the beginning of railroad service for his travels. One of his clergy writes of accompanying the bishop on a seventeen-mile drive in an open buggy at fifteen degrees below zero and in the teeth of a bitter wind to keep a confirmation appointment. Kemper himself tells of a summer trip to the city of Superior by boat which took him fifteen days, adding, "when within two miles of Superior, on the 21st, a few of us who were bound for the place were sent ashore in a yawl, while the wind was blowing, the waves dashing over us, and the rain falling." When he left Superior on that trip, he spent four days traveling by stage to St. Paul, Minn.,—a distance which can now be covered by automobile in as many hours.

There was nothing spectacular about Bishop Kemper. If he had any one notable characteristic, it was an absorbing sense of duty. At the same time he had a childlike cheerfulness which never left him even in old age. He was devoted to his home and family but never neglected a duty which took him away from them. Always orderly and methodical, he carried on a heavy correspondence and was meticulous about keeping his records. His journal is copious and detailed. How he ever managed it all in the midst of his constant traveling is a source of wonder to any biographer. His great passion was the Church. He seemed to have little or no interest in the great political and social upheavals which racked the country during a large part of his episcopate. He was convinced that if people would practice their Christian principles and follow along the way which the Church pointed out to them, all problems would be automatically solved. Deeply sensitive as he was to the hurts inflicted by the horrors of the Civil War, he scarcely referred to the conflict in his public utterances. It was not until the last year of the War that he issued a special prayer for use in his diocese. In 1862, when the whole

country was in flames, his only comment to the diocesan Convention was as follows: "While the whole community has been deeply and daily interested in the war, a vast number of our young men have entered the army; besides, five of the Clergy became chaplains, and others, I have reason to believe, were ready in this way to proclaim the truths of the Gospel to those who were exposing their lives in defense of our country, and especially to carry to them when wounded, sick or dying, the consolation of our holy religion."

One is struck in this man by a strange anomaly which persisted year after year. He was an inveterate traveler, inured to the hardships of the road and ready to accommodate himself to all the inconveniences of a peripatetic frontier life, yet he was by nature gentle and refined in his tastes and possessed of scholarly gifts. Except when the vicissitudes of travel interfered, it was his daily custom to read something from his Greek Testament. He exhorted his clergy to study and teach. Schools were a great concern to him. He never ceased to commend to the favorable consideration of his flock not only Nashotah House, but also the Female Seminary at Oconomowoc, Racine College, and Kemper Hall in Kenosha. Besides these established institutions, he was a powerful advocate of parochial schools and during his episcopate many of them flourished throughout his diocese. Near the close of his long life, he proposed a novel experiment which was taken under serious consideration by a committee appointed for the purpose. The idea was to open a special training center for sons of the clergy and other young men of suitable qualifications for a four-year course of study designed to equip them for the teaching profession. Graduates were to be ordained to the diaconate and sent out under the Bishop's direction as Teaching Deacons. They would go to communities unable to support a resident priest, open a school, and at the same time conduct services. As teachers, they would earn their own way in a territory where the school system was only embryonic, and as deacons they would plant the Church and instruct their pupils in the Christian faith. He never lived to see his project launched, but it is a significant indication of a bold attempt to cover a neglected sector of his field.

Shortly before Kemper's death the famous Ritual Controversy broke upon the Church. Extremists entrenched themselves on opposite wings and hurled their thunderbolts at one another with a modicum of righteous indignation and a maximum of unrighteous venom. Kemper detested controversy but found himself in the midst of a battlefield, the target of missiles from both directions. He was thoroughly out of sympathy with the belligerent group who later departed in the Reformed Episcopal movement and he was not much

more sympathetic with the elaborators who coveted the title of "ritualist." He was particularly incensed at the circularizing of his diocese with partisan publications aimed at arousing the fears and prejudices of the laity. In two successive years he expressed himself with deep feeling on the subject in his annual addresses:

"Reflection and inquiry have convinced me, that in the present agitated state of the Church, it is our sacred duty to rally with more and more enthusiasm about the Book of Common Prayer, the Articles and the Ordinal. They contain the best summary of Gospel truth, I verily believe, that can be found in the world. They richly deserve our affection, obedience and gratitude; and they are intimately connected with the purest and best ages of the Church. Here let me record my conviction that I consider the services for the administration of the Holy Communion full of most solemn and evangelical truths, and that the language and sentiments of the Catechism and the Baptismal offices are entirely sanctioned by the primitive Church and by the Holy Scriptures.

"To those who would alter or omit, as well as to those who would add to the established and well-known Sacraments, Rites, Ceremonies and phraseology of the Church, I would say with affection and solicitude, why offend and alarm the vast majority of your brethren, not a few of whom have joined us from conviction that we had the truth as it is in Jesus in all its integrity, and that our worship when duly and solemnly celebrated, is sanctioned by the Church of primitive times, and is a near perfection as we can attain to on this side of Eternity."

Bishop Armitage, Assistant Bishop of the Diocese, at the same Convention valiantly supported his diocesan:

"But the officious intermeddling, the circulation of extreme partisan papers, the attempt to draw the laity from the clergy for separate action, to sow fears and suspicions among brethren, deserve the severest reprobation of us all. We are a united Diocese, doing the Lord's work in the old spirit of the Church. Let the few whose fears and suspicions *have* been stirred, be on their guard against their own prejudices, and against the representations of the prejudiced and the lawless. Our Father in God, like Samuel, 'old and gray-headed,' might 'testify his integrity' here unchallenged. Who will witness against him? No man dares suspect him of approval of new-fangled doctrines or practices. With the great body of our Clergy and Laity, I stand with *him*."

To make it unanimous, the Convention then adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That this Convention heartily and unanimously endorses and adopts as its own, the expressions in the Bishop's address of last year and in the Assistant Bishop's address of this year, on the subject of lawlessness, as shown on the one side by the introduction of unusual ceremonies copied from the unreformed Churches, and on the other, by the breach of the plain rubrics and Church law and customs in the mutilation of the services; and that this Convention hereby declares it to be the settled determination of the Church in the Diocese of Wisconsin, heartily to support the Bishop and Church Courts in bringing the discipline of the Church to bear on any who within their jurisdiction, may offend either by mutilating the services of the Church, or while using the words of our reformed Liturgy, offend by teaching, by their ceremonial and gestures, doctrines which our Church condemns, and introduce a Ritualism which our Protestant and reformed Communion three centuries ago solemnly renounced."

While the Civil War was still waging, Kemper's health began to waver. He was subject to occasional lapses which were very disquieting to his friends. In 1866 he asked for the election of an Assistant Bishop and the Rev. William E. Armitage, Rector of St. John's Church, Detroit, was elected on the fifth ballot. He proved to be a peculiarly happy choice, working in full harmony with his superior and relieving him of heavy responsibilities. Two years later the question was definitely raised of dividing the diocese. Both bishops foresaw the eventual need of at least three (possibly four) dioceses in Wisconsin and the first step to that end was taken in 1875 by the setting apart of Fond du Lac.

The end came easily. On April 3, 1870, Kemper confirmed his last class. For several weeks thereafter he continued his office duties and his correspondence but was unable to attempt any further traveling. On May 18 he was confined to his bed, gradually passed into a coma and died on the afternoon of Tuesday, May 24th. With six bishops, seventy priests, and some two thousand people in attendance, he was buried in the cemetery at Nashotah. The whole Church was deeply stirred by the passing of this eighty-year-old veteran of missionary service. For thirty-five years he had earned and held the affection and admiration of churchmen as few other men have ever been able to do. The spirit of his life and ministry is well summed up in one of his last remarks:

"I have everything to be thankful for; the presence of my Saviour, the help of His Holy Spirit, and a hope full of immortality."

1875 G

Dear

July

Cooke & Capt. Gen. supper. To sleep in C's bed, another man in the room. Legislature in session come grant of land by Congress for R.R.R. Sargent says his firm has an interest in Florence in Nebraska, that Mr. Mitchell there will give us lots, & he (S) will give 500 for a 2500 Ch. S. S. left well. But I thought of F. Madison now a trustee. Cooke will take my money & invest it - spoke freely of land of whom he thinks well - & of Mr. Lee. The 7000 acres in Co. for the Ch. will yield 50,000 for output of the R.R., &c. a coal breeze. Staid at 10 a. m. 4 beds myself. Not uncomfortable. 3 going to Montezuma. a good dinner. Travel very slow. poor road. much open timber.

9. Had to walk at midnight. some bad places. at Montezuma about 3. The 3 left us there at a poor horse on to Grandville to Co. & staid there some hours for the stage that left after

KEMPER'S JOURNAL AND LETTERS

With Introduction and Notes by an Associate Editor

OUT of the many volumes of the Kemper MSS.¹ it has been possible to select but a few specimens for publication in this number. The canons of selection have been their historical importance, their general interest, and their revelation of the Bishop's personality. We are indebted to Mr. William Ives Rutter, Jr., Secretary of the Church Historical Society, Philadelphia, for copies of the Kemper letters in his personal collection, all but one of which are here printed; to the Rev. L. O. Forqueran, Acting Librarian of the Maryland Diocesan Library, for copies of the four historically important letters in that library's collection of seventeen Kemper letters; and to the Rev. Alden Drew Kelley, our Church's Chaplain at the University of Wisconsin, for the transcript of the selection from the Kemper Journal, including the excerpts from the Bishop's letters to Mrs. Adams and Dr. Van Kleeck.

LETTER TO BISHOP DOANE CONCERNING HIS ACCEPTANCE

September ?, 1835

My dear Bishop,

I have said, 'here am I, send me.' I did it with fear and trembling, but I will go (the Lord being my helper) with cheerfulness. My faith at first was faint and my mind confused—for the event was unexpected and overwhelming. In the retirement of my study, and in the midst of parochial duty, I was enabled to examine the subject with some degree of calmness. The question, 'how could I dare to refuse,' connected with the brightening hope that my Divine Master had called me through the instrumentality of his Church led to an increase of faith and produced the effect I have stated.

Ten thousand thanks for your letter. It penetrated, like a sharp two edged sword, the inmost recesses of my soul. I have not consulted with flesh and blood. I know not even now the wishes of my relations. In the presence of God I have endeavoured simply to ascertain the path of duty. May I be strengthened by divine grace to pursue it with a pure and devoted spirit. It now remains for the Church, in her Missionary character, to commission me, in-

¹See below: *Bibliography*.

struct me, and send me forth. May God, in his infinite mercy, prepare me, through Christ our Lord!

Jackson Kemper.

LETTER² TO THE REV^D JEHU C. CLAY³

PHILADELPHIA, PENN^A

St. Louis, Mo. 21 March, 1837

My dear Sir

Yr favour of 3^d inst was rec'd this morning. I sincerely sympathise with you in that severe dispensation that has taken your eldest son from the guardianship of his earthly father—but O! my brother, how delightful the thought, that he is now secure for ever in the Paradise of God. May the event be sanctified to the eternal benefit of your own soul.

I thank you for your kind expressions; and am truly sorry but by no means blame you, that you cannot come to the West. Will you do me the favor to address a note to the Rev. Lloyd Windsor,⁴ New York, and say to him that you decline going to Indianapolis. He has some thought of applying for that station & is a young man of much promise.

If Mr. Reynolds⁵ has not succeeded at the East, what could he do at the West? But I really know nothing of him, especially for the last 6 years. If you & his Bp. can recommend him I shall be happy to see him in my Mission. As a successful teacher he could do much good and make money almost any where in this country—and upon this point more especially I shall wish to see him when in your city where I hope to be for a day or two about the 20th of April.

The news you mentioned was quite interesting and I am grateful for it.

In great haste and with almost 50 unanswered letters staring me in the face

I am truly & affly yr bro in Christ

Jackson Kemper.

²The original of this letter is in the possession of Mr. William Ives Rutter, Jr., Secretary of the Church Historical Society, Philadelphia.

³The Rev. Jehu C. Clay was then Rector of the Swedish Churches near Philadelphia.

⁴The Rev. Lloyd Windsor became Rector of St. Michael's Church, Geneseo, Livingston County, Diocese of Western New York.

⁵The Rev. John Reynolds, Rector of St. James' Church, Perkiomen, and St. John's Church, Norristown, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania.

LETTER⁶ TO THE REV. C. S. HEDGES, PALMYRA, MISSOURI

St. Louis, Mo.
29 May 1838

My dear Sir

You are probably aware before this that I have been more than four months engaged in visiting the Southwest.⁷ I only returned last week—and will now endeavour with divine assistance to make the best use of my time until it is necessary for me to hasten to the General Convention.⁸ I am obliged to meet the Clergy of Indiana at Evansville on the 9th of June and must remain the greater part of the month in that State.⁹ Shall I then visit you and your neighbourhood in July or postpone my visit to the fall?¹⁰ I will comply with great pleasure with your decision. It is expedient for me I think from some very peculiar circumstances to travel thro Wisconsin before the 1st of Sept.¹¹ Your decision will determine my route. Have the goodness to answer this as soon as convenient and direct to Indianapolis, Indiana.

Anxious to keep within your own limits of a letter, and having in fact a great many to answer I close with the assurance of respect and brotherly affection.

Jackson Kemper.

Rev. C. S. Hedges,
Palmyra,
Missouri.

⁶The original is in the possession of Wm. Ives Rutter, Jr., of Philadelphia.

⁷Bishop Otey of Tennessee requested Bishop Kemper to make with him a tour in the Southwest. Kemper agreed, but on reaching Memphis in January, 1838, found Otey stricken with fever and had to proceed alone. He accordingly visited Natchez, New Orleans, Mobile, Pensacola, Tallahassee, Macon, Columbus (Georgia), Montgomery, Greensboro, Tuscaloosa, Columbus (Mississippi), and returned to Mobile and New Orleans. In about four months he visited nearly all the parishes in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and Florida, confirming in nearly all, consecrating eight churches, and advancing two deacons to the priesthood. He stated that at least fifty missionaries were needed in that region immediately. Kemper made a most favorable impression for the Church and, what is more important, stirred up the General Convention to elect a Bishop to fill the post declined by Dr. Hawks three years before. Leonidas Polk was accordingly elected and was consecrated December 9, 1838, first Bishop of the Southwest.

⁸The General Convention of 1838 met in Philadelphia, September 5th to 17th.

⁹He kept this appointment, visited the diocese, and among other things obtained from General William Henry Harrison the gift of a fine lot of land for a church in Vincennes. Indiana was admitted as a Diocese by the General Convention of this year, but did not have its own Diocesan Bishop until Dr. Hawks was consecrated, December 16, 1849, Kemper having refused to become Diocesan.

¹⁰The visitation of Missouri did not take place until after the General Convention—the Fall of 1838.

¹¹In July of 1838, for the first time as Bishop, he entered Wisconsin, visiting Prairie du Chien, Cassville, Mineral Point, Madison, and Fort Winnebago, preaching and administering the Holy Communion. Early in August he arrived at Green Bay (last visited in 1834 before his election as Bishop), confirmed six persons and laid the cornerstone of Christ Church, Green Bay. He also visited the Oneida settlement at Duck Creek and laid the cornerstone of Hobart Church. Following this visitation, he learned of his election as Bishop of Maryland, which he declined.

LETTER¹² TO MR. GRISWOLD OF THE GENERAL SEMINARY

Burlington, Iowa,
Nov. 7th, 1840

Dear Sir:

The topic which occasionally engaged our attention during the two last days of my visit to New York in June, has lost in my estimation none of its interest and importance. I have now passed through more than half of my Missions since I saw you, and I am more ready than ever to declare my thorough conviction that the establishment and future prosperity of our Church in the West greatly depends, in all human probability, upon the early organization of a school of the prophets in some part of this rapidly growing country. My wish is that several—not less than three and twelve would not be too many—of the students of the Theological Seminary should devote themselves to this sacred object.

Some part of the interior of Wisconsin would, I am inclined to think, be the most desirable location. It is very healthy. The cold weather is scarcely as long and not more severe than in the Northern part of New York, while the atmosphere is said to be so dry during that season that it is quite congenial to consumptive patients. It is peculiarly accessible to the inhabitants of those states to which we must look for many years to come for the students who are to be prepared for the ministry of reconciliation. Extensive tracts of land can yet be purchased at government prices \$1.25 per acre. The roads are even now good—and the journey at this day across the Territory—from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi river—is safe and pleasant.

The organization should be I think somewhat upon the plan of the Colleges of the English Universities: a limited number of fellows, bound together by certain rules, supplying their own vacancies, and being themselves a body corporate—devoted to the great object of preaching the Gospel and preparing young men for holy Orders. The establishment should be principally supported by Grammar and Collegiate schools—and the cultivation of the land. Celibacy until a certain age or for a number of years should be required of most if not all the fellows for economy and study's sake—as we would constantly aim at making thorough and ripe scholars of the teachers as well as their pupils. A dispensation to marry should be granted to an individual either by a unanimous vote or by resignation of his fellowship.

Immense good it appears to me would result to the Cause to which we are devoted, and a great increase of

¹²This letter was written to Mr. Griswold, a student at the General Theological Seminary. A copy of it was sent to Bishop Whittingham in Baltimore by James Lloyd Breck and the copy is now in the Maryland Diocesan Library. This letter is important in revealing Bishop Kemper's own ideas concerning the institution which eventually became Nashotah House.

usefulness to clergymen and of happiness to their families by establishing the custom of not marrying before Thirty.— To those who know the truth and sobriety of the Church and the scriptural character of her ordinances and worship; who are aware of the prodigious efforts of the Romanists in this part of the valley of the Mississippi; and the rapid spread of fanaticism and delusion, I need not say a word concerning the necessity of a measure of this nature and the unutterable advantages which may flow from it.

Under the present state of things, the majority of the few clergymen, who are disposed to come here, will be those who cannot obtain parishes in the East. What can the feeble, the maimed and the broken down do among a young and enterprising people? Sacrifices must be made. It is useless to think of entering the ministry at the present day unless we are prepared for self-denial, toil, and suffering. And to whom should the Church look to accomplish the high objects to which she is pledged but to those students whom she may most emphatically call her own? Will you take this subject into the most serious consideration—pray over it—and consult with your fellow students? I have suggested mere hints which are of course susceptible of great improvement. Could some plan of the kind be adopted, that would promise to be effective, we might I think excite among Churchmen a peculiar interest in its favour, and perhaps secure, before next autumn, funds sufficient for land, some buildings and a few books. I shall be happy to hear at St. Louis from you or any of the students upon this subject, and am truly and Affectionately yours,
Jackson Kemper.

LETTER¹³ TO BISHOP WHITTINGHAM

Delafield, Wis.
Nov. 13, 1849.

My dear Bishop:

I only received your favour of the 4th ulto a day or two since on my return from Iowa. Such a letter as you suggest has been forwarded to Bishop Chase. The time you mention is exceedingly unpropitious for aged men especially in the West to travel, yet I hesitated not to mention Feby, adding however the earliest day possible as an alternative. Furthermore it would scarcely be possible for all the Bishops to receive three months notice and assemble in that month.

I think it would be highly desirable for those Bishops who are known to be the well wishers of Bp B. T. O.¹⁴ to meet together at some time and place before the House of Bishops assemble.

¹³*The original is in the Maryland Diocesan Library.*

¹⁴*Bishop Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk of New York.*

Let me remind you that I have not yet received a transfer of the Rev. Joshua Sweet.¹⁵

If my brethren in the Episcopate think that my jurisdiction extends to the Pacific (as according to the report of the committee of the last Board on the report of the Domestic Committee) there ought to be some action taken to bring the Domestic Committee to a sense of their duty. I am not at all consulted by them in reference to Oregon or California, the appointment of ministers and Missions stations in those Territories. I have really no desire upon the subject, but simply wish to do my duty. If I am Bishop to the Pacific, the clergy who have gone to California should have been transferred to me, and means should have been provided so that I might be able to visit the country.

I am dear Bishop, faithfully and affectly your friend and brother

Jackson Kemper.

Rt. Rev. W. R. Whittingham
Baltimore, Maryland.

LETTER¹⁶ TO BISHOP WHITTINGHAM

Plattsville, Wis.
Apr. 15, 1851

My dear Bishop:

A letter from the Rev. James Abercrombie¹⁷ dated 5th inst was forwarded to me while on my present visitation, in which after stating that the work on his Church is to begin the 1st of May, he writes, "I therefore have fixed on the 8th of May for the laying of the corner stone. I trust it will be in your power to attend, and shall be pleased to have you take such part in the services as may be agreeable to you. Services to be at 11 o'clock. Mr. Akerly¹⁸ will make the address." Now I do not think I am tenacious with respect to privileges or even rights, and yet I acknowledge myself a little riled as a Yankee would say by this note.

I have laid corner stones for low as well as high Churchmen, and heretofore the time as well as all the arrangements have been left to me in the most respectful manner. Here the time is fixed—the speaker is chosen—and I am not even requested to lay the stone! Still I am invited to take part in the services. What has been your experience—what your practice? A corner stone can without doubt be laid by a presbyter—ought he to do it unless requested by the

¹⁵The Rev. Joshua Sweet had been rector of St. Paul's Parish, Prince George County, Maryland, and was at this time officiating at Fond du Lac, Wisconsin.

¹⁶The original is in the Maryland Diocesan Library, Baltimore.

¹⁷The Rev. James Abercrombie was rector of St. Matthias' Church, Waukesha, Wisconsin.

¹⁸The Rev. Benjamin Akerly was rector of St. Paul's Church, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Bishop—and ought he publicly use a service which has not been sanctioned by his Bishop? Has Abercrombie acquired from his old rector Dr. Wyatt,¹⁹ the self-conceited and arrogant views which compel him to insult any Bishop who may come in contact with him upon his own ground (the precinct of his parish)?

If I am wrong I shall be particularly gratified to be set right by one who desires to be governed by love, and who I believe never claims a right which he can conscientiously relinquish.

Faithfully and affectly your bro
Jackson Kemper.

To Rt. Rev. William R. Whittingham
Baltimore, Maryland.

BISHOP KEMPER'S DIARY²⁰

VISITATION OF NEBRASKA AND KANSAS, 1856

(July) 9 (1856). On a bed an hour or 2. Heard of Col. Lane & 300 (soldiers) at Io (Iowa) City on way to Kansas. Broke down at midnight. Several passengers. Palmer of Phila(delphia) a Ch(urch) & english man among them.

10. After waiting an hour a wagon came for us. In Fort des Moines by 3. Bp. Lee²¹ joined us. Off before 4. Hilderman with me all the way—from Harrisburgh—has travelled in Egypt, Europe, &c. . . . Poor dinner. Lee took only milk—each pd (paid) 50 cents. Lee & H(ilderman) sick. L(ee) no supper. I walked up hill at midnight—fine breeze.

11. Yesterday we passed Mormons at Walnut Grove 4 miles f(rom) F(ort) des Moines. They looked wretched & dirty & had hand carts. Supper last night at Keiths, crowded—br(eakfast) today at Lewis. In Council Bluffs by 6. Called on Bloomer—she dressed in style. To bed early.

12. Slept 9 hours. Room to myself. Lee & Bloomer called. B(loomer) gave me a list of names of Churchmen at Omaha City. Met Irish²² at the ferry. The omnibus took us to the Douglas House (Omaha City). Called at Salisbury (the author of the L(etter) to Dr. Haight)—at Mrs. Smiths & saw there Hamilton a young Churchman from N. Y. and Mr. Barnum—at Shields. Dined at Salisburys—he honest and rough—a dg. (daughter) nearly grown has been at a romish school at St. Jos(eph.) We called upon S. Moffatt a cashier at one of the banks, he dined with us

¹⁹The Rev. William E. Wyatt, D.D., had been rector of St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, for many years and President of the House of Deputies of the General Convention.

²⁰Transcript supplied by the Rev. Alden Drew Kelley, Madison, Wis.

²¹Rt. Rev. Henry Washington Lee, Bishop of Iowa.

²²Rev. William Irish, Missionary at St. Joseph, Missouri.

& is a comm(unicant). A horse & buggy were got for us & we rode to Florence 7 miles N(orth) on Mo. (Missouri). A few houses. It has been the crossing place of the Mormons—here there is a rock bottom in the river—& it is supposed the R. R. will cross here. A l(etter) from E. Cooke to Mitchell got us lots 44 & 5 in square 45 for the Church, & got a deed. Tea at Mrs. Smith's. She, her hub (husband) & boarders went to Salisbury's to sing. Mr. Moffatt was there & is master of music. Hear very little of Kansas here. Irish is polite, attentive & affectionate. Will travel with me some time—he is doubtful of my going beyond Leavenworth. Wants me to spend a Sunday with him.

13. Irish and I in same room. Very hot. No Wash basin—the room filled with clothes and trunks of other persons—boots not brushed. Assembled in Court House. A very crowded room. Lee came late & preached. Some stood all the time. Then Irish and I went to Salisbury's and ad(ministered) Eu(charist) to 6: Mrs. Salsibury, Mr. Moffatt, Mr. & Mrs. Clark, Mr. Hamilton & Mrs. Mills (whose hub (husband) keeps the tavern). Dinner at Shields—quite a nice one. . . . Took a nap. A good shower. Congregation in after(noon) not crowded. Met Tuttle, layman from Madison, Wis., now postmaster, Esterbrook from Wis., now district-atty. Salisbury sent us in a carriage to C Bl (Council Bluffs). Met Dr. Lowe, one of the owners of O. C. (Omaha City). At Bloomers to tea. I preached to a congregation. Appearances of rain. Irish and I stay at Benton's—one bed. Lee has 2 lots in Sioux City—a very hot day passed.

14. Clear & warm. Early br(eakfast). The Col.'s wife and sister pres(ent). He a banker. Bp. Lee too ill to go with us—he preached twice yesterday & then visited & addressed some Pawnee Indians. A long delay. Crossed (to Omaha). Called on Tuttle (cashier of the other bank), Selby, Clarke, Moffatt. Very hot. Clear—read—slept—wrote. Tea at Clarkes. Then 98. Met vestry. Two coms (committees) appointed—Dr. Hiller, Smith & Tuttle to get a lot here—& ?, Shields & Selby to get lots in all the new towns in the Territory.

15. A hot night, but slept well. Gratifying interview with Moffatt. Esterbrook takes us to Bellevue—at old Mission—at old trading house. Col. Sarpi (Sarpy)—Decatur—Description of Bad Lands. At Benton House, a good one. No charge at hotel in O. C. (Omaha City). Here Jennings landlord. The Ch(ief) justice Ferguson lives here. He promises land for the Ch(urch). The stage did not come in this morn(g) (morning).

16. Good bed. Irish & I in same room. Hot morning—boots cleaned. No stage or boat. Jennings has been a Metho(dist). Returned with Esterbrook. No charge today. E(sterbrook) took us to his house—2 chil-

dren—his father-in-law Maxwell. E(sterbrook) & wife in their carriage took us over to C. Bl. (Council Bluffs). We took passage for St. Jos(eph). The agent knew Bp. Hopkins. Slept. Very hot. Very dark. A little rain. Called on Bloomer. Lee was well when he left. . . . To bed early. Irish got a promise from Benton of 4 lots in Bellevue.

17. Called at midnight—off by 1—cooler wind last night, but only a few drops of rain. To Glenwood 23 (miles). Br(eakfast). Passed Tabor a settlement from Oberlin. The country is well settled. Dinner at Sidney opposite Nebraska City. Here learn Col. Lane to (go) to Chicago to get men to ascend & clear the Mo. (Missouri)—that Topeka assembly met & were dispersed by Col. Sumner's Troops. Tea at Linden 8 miles in Mo. (Missouri). A lovely day.

18. Stopt at day light—br(eakfast) at Jackson's Point—detained a long time. Dinner at Savannah. At St. Jos(eph) by 7. . . . Taken to Henry Cooke. Here the Rev. Holman of Weston. Soon to bed.

19. Slept well—br(eakfast) at 6½—wrote to Lill & Van Kleeck. Here Irish & Holman. H(olman) studied with Norton & is in poor health. . . . This is a nice family—Cooke was absent nearly 4 yrs. in California. Walked downtown—& got the promise of 4 lots in new town of Whitehouse? in Kansas. Here Irish to tea. Cloudy part of the day.

20. Clouded & quite cool at noon—a slight rain caused the congregation to be thin. A poor small building, low ceiling, on a lot bot by McNamara but has not a good title. Another lot is secured nearly out of town. The ladies have ice cream parties to build the Ch(urch). Holman reads well. Mr. Tate, Holman, & Irish called. The night congregation better—then very warm—& kind offers of hospitality. H(olman) says several Ch(urch) families in Lecompton. Irish says 6 years ago Phila(delphia) Assoc(iation) planned at Va. (Virginia) convocation by Dudley Tyng & Dr. Andrews. Mr. Rochester of R(ochester) in N. Y. was there who proposed Lee as Bp. & Io (Iowa) the place of operation. Both were agreed to & ministers were asked to send their contributions to the P. A. (Philadelphia Association) instead of the D(omestic) C(ommittee) & Irish refused.

21. Packed, sultry. Wrote to Mead to take Omaha City. Here Irish—at his house—at Cooke's store. Met Tate, Dr. Crane, Thompson, McNamara & wife. On board Polar Star, started after 10. No pay. At Doniphan. Sultry. River high. Here at 2 oc(lock). Rested all the afternoon. . . . Forman called. Met me some yrs. ago at Gen. Davies in Lewis Co(unty) Mo. Took me to his house, where I was comfortable. We had a service wh(ich) was well attended—but no Ch(urch)man present. 250

inhabitants here. Had ice water—a nice bed—4 rooms open.

22. Up early. Had family prs. (prayers). Went over the plot & selected 1 in 51 with right to buy 2. Irish to be my agent. Forman got us a mule & a covered wagon no charge. Travelling 2 miles we crossed Independence Creek in a boat—then 4 miles to Atchison. A very hot day. At Dickinson's hotel, his wife a Whittlesey. Met 2 of Sass' S. S. pupils—J. P. Carr, a lawyer educated at Cambridge—has a fine library & married it is said to a German—& Alexander. Here from Louisville A. G. Otis. 100 young men of S. Carolina have just left here to go to the Big Blue River 75 miles W(est) to found Palmetto City—most of them Ch(urch)men. Met Major Yates & De Treville of Charleston. Read Ch(urch) Jour(nal). Prepared for night. James D. Headley judge of probate—Carr in his office—a cool place on the hill. . . . S. Johnston will not probably settle here, not here now—he & Otis have secured 2 lots for the Ch(urch). Met Adams, formerly of the army, who told story of placing a preacher on a raft. Here old Adams of Weston, father of Mrs. Stringfellow. A few responded at worship. Irish & I in same room with Adams quite an invalid—4 beds in it.

23. Very hot & clear—a bad smell about the house. Wm. C. Nutt of Va. died last night. I am requested to bury him at 11. Wrote to Sass—to Ingraham, &c. Irish & I walked to the funeral—not ready & agree to wait till 5½. Two boats passed. A pleasant breeze. Wrote to Bp. Hawks—& wrote authority for Irish to obtain lots for the Ch(urch) in Kansas. Wrote a letter to leaders of the Palmetto Camp to give us lots ; attended funeral of Nutt—large company. Rec'd an umbrella. Irish sang & spoke long. A long hot walk up hill. Efforts to get off to Weston by returning carriage but failed. Mr. Scott & others very grateful. Arrival of 24 young men from Barnwell, S. C. Perfect confidence here of Kansas being a Slave State. Returned to tavern. Scott & Carr called. Delightful in the office but hot at the tavern. Adams will write to Palmetto City for lots for the Ch(urch). In same room again.

24. Disturbed again by old Adams during the night. Up early. Off in a fair carriage & 2 young horses for Weston. Very hilly & some rough roads. rapid driving. Otis, &c. pay for this drive. Crossed Missouri at Kickapoo in a steam ferry. From there 3 miles to Weston—a hilly place. At the St. Georges, a hot, small (room). Slept, washed—ice cream, &c. Ch(urch) in an upper room, waited a long time & then a few came. It was very hot. Informed of Church people at Lecompton.

LETTER²³ TO ELIZABETH KEMPER ADAMS

Leavenworth Kansas

26 July 1856

Dearest daughter,

I have made my arrangements to spend, God willing, tomorrow week at Council City, visiting on the way Leocompton and perhaps Lawrence. In such a case I hope I may reach St. Louis, or Chicago or Milwaukee the night of the 9th August and it is possible that I may be home by that time. But I would say do not look out much for me until 12th Aug. I am sorry for this delay on dear De Koven's account, for I fear he cannot expect a Sunday from me before 17th Aug. But the importance of being here & at the other places I have mentioned is most evident. Here is a large, growing and very wicked town, where the Romanists have already a Bp. and a whole square on which is erected a residence for him, a Ch(urch).

Leocompton is the capital & I am afraid it has already a goodly number of Church families, probably all from the South. And Council City being a Missionary station and the destined home of the Stones,²⁴ I ought to know its actual position and importance. I shall go alone in a private conveyance with a son of the Emerald Isle to drive. The fellow²⁵ is a true orange man but earnestly loves to live upon the Church. The country is altogether at peace; and I carry with me a letter from the Major Gen. of the district, Penifer F. Smith, whom I met yesterday at the Fort, only a mile from here, and who recognized me at once, altho he had not seen me for 37 years. His father was Jonathan Smith, whom I well recalled in Phila(delphia), & his sister is the wife of E. Littell of Living Age notoriety. I was in some distress yesterday, for we were at a miserable crowded tavern with fairest prospect of soiled sheets and active bed bugs. But at a late hour we were taken a mile out of town & I am now most comfortably situated at a Mr. Mills, where everything is good and clean. Here there are but few Church people—yet there are some—and I have an appointment here tomorrow morn(g). (morning) & at the fort tomorrow afternoon. The fort is but a mile from here. It is a very important place—new buildings are going on most rapidly. It will probably become the largest military station in our country.

28th

I am now at Major Sibly's at the fort. Yesterday morning I had the entire service of the Church & about a dozen men and women to respond. The place was well

²³Original in the Kemper Collection, Wisconsin State Historical Society.

²⁴Rev. Hiram Stone sent as Missionary a few months later to Leavenworth City.

²⁵Refers to the Rev. William Irish, Missionary at St. Joseph, Mo.

filled tho not crowded. In the afternoon the Chapel here had a goodly number of worshippers, and at night I administered the Eucharist to 10—five men & their wives, among whom were Major Sibley & Major Hunter, and confirmed a Lt. Ransom.

Last night we had a long desired rain.

Lecompton Kansas
31 July 1856

I am here at last and was exceedingly disappointed—yet something has been done and the prospect is slightly encouraging. I was called upon this morning to visit & pray with a dying man—& from there I was taken about two miles from town, where I baptized Elizabeth Josephine born a week ago. Her parents of name of Evans appeared to be zealous and attached to true principles. If there is a real Churchman in this village I have not met either him or her.

As to sleeping! What stories I could tell. This is indeed a new country. I now am assured that 35 miles on a good road takes me to Council City. On 4th Aug. my face is homeward. . . .

EXCERPT FROM COPY OF LETTER²⁶ TO REV. DR. VAN KLEECK²⁷
“ON BOARD S. S. AUBREY,” AUG. 7TH, 1856

. . . have been uniformly treated with kindness, as I am at present on board the “Aubrey.”

Something effectual, I think, has been done for Omaha City. But it will never do to send a poor clergyman there with a large family. The Miss(ionar)y who goes there must board or be enabled to erect a dwelling for himself. If you appoint but one for Nebraska he sh'd (should) be authorized to visit various parts of the Territory. I regret I was unable to be at Nebraska City.

With respect to Kansas if S C (South Carolina) will undertake a Mission to Palmetto C(ity) or Atchison—& New Haven to C C (Council City)—I trust you will appoint a miss(ionar)y to Leavenworth C(ity) without delay. Not that we have many Episcopalians there, tho upon A A Hall & wife—Berthond & wife—Mills & wife, Dr. Fackles, Mr. Emery, Mr. Moon & others we can rely to some extent—but the importance & promise of the place, & its vicinity to the Fort make it even now a place worthy our utmost efforts. Dr. Cuyler of the Fort stated to me his belief that Mr. Wells of West Point was admirably adapted to the position & w(ou)ld be disposed to come. From what I know of him, let me say, use every effort to secure him.

²⁶From Kemper Letter Book, Wisconsin State Historical Society.

²⁷The Rev. R. B. Van Kleeck, D.D., Secretary and General Agent of the Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions (1853-1861).

Lecompton is the present seat of government. It is small. The information I rec'd of there being several Ch(urch) families here was in a great measure incorrect, & I was about leaving it in despair. But being detained in consequence of an accident to the horses I found Mr & Mrs James DeBrun Evans who reside 2 miles from the place warmhearted Ch(urch) people f(rom) Richmond in Va. I baptised their infant, only 8 days old, & learned there were other persons in Lecompton & its neighbourhood who were attached to our worship. I had the promise of one or more lots. A subscription paper was drawn up, and it was thought a considerable sum might be raised for the erection of a Ch(urch).

Topeka at a future day will doubtless demand our attention. It is beautifully situated on the Kansas river & has some very good buildings. I did no more than pass thro it.

And now what shall I say of C C (Council City now Council Grove)? Imagine a small, beautiful elevated prairie almost surrounded by 2 small creeks wh(ich) form the head waters of the Osage. On the banks of these creeks there is a narrow belt of woods, universally called timber in this country. A large city was laid out on this elevated prairie, & falling into the hands of speculators, several persons purchased lots, & started for this remote place wh(ich) is 89 miles on the S(anta) Fe road f(rom) Kansas C(ity) & about 75 miles f(rom) Kansas C(ity). Travelling as most of them did on the S(anta) Fe road they must have observed the great scarcity of timber, & in order to secure it made claims at once on the banks of the creeks, where they build their shanties. These streams in midsummer do not dry up, but what is worse the water ceases to flow & pools are formed. It is not surprising therefore that chills & remitting fevers prevailed both last summer & this. As soon however as the land is brot into market & the claims can be secured by purchase, the majority of the people will build on City lots or other parts of the prairie; and then doubtless health will prevail. As I approached the place I was assured it was a one house City. But this is a slander, for I was assured that there were 2 or more dwellings besides the conspicuous log-cabin wh(ich) is now occupied by the most zealous Epis(copalia)ns of the country. Havens— & Lord & his family. But let me tell you of sunday. Mr Lord's room was crowded with respectable & intelligent looking people, & some, unable to obtain seats, remained outside. The full service of the Ch(urch) was duly celebrated both M(orning) and E(vening). I preached twice, & confirmed 2 females, who had been duly prepared for that apostolic rite before leaving Litchfield in Conn. The music was good, we had some of the chants, & a melodeon brot from a neighbouring house was sweetly & correctly played.

The Lord's Supper was not administered because wine could not be obtained in the neighbourhood.

And now what shall we do? By all means send the Miss(ionar)y there so that he can arrive early in Oct(obe)r immediately after the first frost. The place has not grown as was fully expected, yet the settlement probably contains 70 families. The disturbances of the Territory—& the impossibility of obtaining lumber—the difficulty of getting their goods from Mo (Missouri) river—with the sickness that has prevailed—have kept back emigrants & in a measure discouraged the early settlers. It is however highly probable that all these difficulties will soon vanish. Peace will soon prevail & then all emigrants will be welcomed. The steam mill of Col Schuyler will be in operation before this month has elapsed, wh(ich) will not only saw lumber but grind wheat. Goods for the interior will hereafter be landed at L(eavenworth) City & everything will be done by the merchants there to transport them in safety to their destination. And when the houses are built in the city or on the prairie I believe that (health will prevail). . . .

LETTER²⁸ TO BISHOP WHITTINGHAM

New York,
23rd, May, 1857

My dear Bishop:

May I solicit of you the favour if circumstances at all permit, of diverting a part of your jubilee²⁹ to Wisconsin?

I need not mention that I am the oldest Missionary Bishop, and that I expect to remain in harness while strength is granted me. At present, there are at least two worthy and useful Clergymen, who, in consequence of the failure of certain promises, depend upon my slender resources to keep them from suffering and want.

I can obtain men, well trained and devoted men—and churchmen are scattered throughout the country to such an extent that 20 missionaries could be constantly employed among those who still belong to the household of faith—but aid is required, aid for a short time, until the people can recover from the heavy expenses incurred by long journeys, purchasing farms, building houses, etc. A remembrance of us at the Jubilee collection would relieve us from our difficulties, and enable us to go on our way rejoicing; for then we could keep among us the Nashotah students, and ask those excellent men to remain with us, who from time to time offer their services. The Board of Missions does not more than half supply our present needs.

²⁸The original of this letter is in the Maryland Diocesan Library. It was written BEFORE the panic of 1857.

²⁹The Jubilee was the seventy-fifth anniversary of the organization of the Diocese of Maryland.

If you cannot aid me officially, may I write to some of your clergy?

I do not finally leave here until monday 2nd June, when I start to return to Wisconsin.

I am my dear Bishop

faithfully and affectly yours

Jackson Kemper

Rt Rev. William R. Whittingham
Baltimore, Maryland.

LETTER³⁰ TO THE REVEREND DR. CASWALL,³¹ ENGLAND

Delafield, Wis^a
6th March 1858

My dear Sir,

Your gratifying letter was duly received, and I trust your Society³² will be able to remit to me for Mr. Shaw³³ another £20. And I say this not only because he wants

³⁰The original of this letter is in the possession of Mr. William Ives Rutter, Jr., Secretary of the Church Historical Society, Philadelphia.

³¹The Rev. Harry Caswall, author of "America and the American Church" (a valuable source for the history of the American Church between 1830 and 1850), and two volumes on the "Mormons," came to the United States from England as a young man of eighteen on the invitation of Bishop Chase and was one of the spiritual fruits of the latter's visit to England in 1823 in search of funds for Kenyon College. Caswall arrived in 1828, graduated from Kenyon in 1830, married a niece of Bishop Chase, was made deacon by the latter June 12, 1831, and served the Church in Portsmouth, Ohio, about two years. In search of health, he moved to New England and studied at Andover during the fall and winter of 1833-34. For the next three years Caswall was professor of Sacred Literature and curate to Bishop Smith in Lexington, Kentucky, where a theological seminary had recently been established. Moving to Madison, Indiana, he was ordained priest July 2, 1837, by Bishop Kemper. He appears to have visited all over the eastern part of the United States and met personally the outstanding leaders of the Church. He served the Church in Canada from 1838 to 1841, and then "accepted a nomination from my old friend Bishop Kemper, as Theological Professor in a college founded by him, near St. Louis, Missouri" (Kemper College). But first he went to England to collect books for the Kemper College Library, finally reaching St. Louis November 15, 1841. After a year spent in teaching, he was again commissioned to go to England: "I employed myself immediately in circulating a true narrative of the Mormon delusion, and in obtaining assistance towards the completion of the library at Kemper College." After procuring "at considerable expense, a Private Act of Parliament, by which the disabilities of my American ordination were removed, and I was placed on the same footing, substantially, with those ordained in the English Establishment," he resigned his Kemper College professorship and remained in England for the rest of his life, except for a visit in 1853 as a member of the S. P. G. delegation to the General Convention. He was at this time Vicar of Figheldean, Wilts., and a Secretary of the Anglo-American Emigrants' Aid Society.

³²The Anglo-American Emigrants' Aid Society was the outgrowth of the visit of the S. P. G. delegation to the American Church in 1853. Organized in June, 1855, with the Bishop of London as President and Caswall as Secretary, the S. P. G., being unable to act because of constitutional limitations, it sought to stem the tremendous losses of English emigrants to the Church by work on both sides of the Atlantic. Contributions in aid of missionary work among English immigrants were made to St. Stephen's House, Boston, St. Luke's Hospital, New York, and the Dioceses of Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, and California. English students studying at Nashotah were assisted with scholarships.

³³The Rev. Henry C. Shaw, Rector of St. Alban's, Lisbon, Wis.

the money, but because the hard times³⁴ have pressed so severely upon his flock that they have been either unable or unwilling to fulfill their promises towards him. He is most faithful in the performance of his duty and the people are attached to him; but I fear he may leave them if he is not better sustained; and such an event would injure them in your estimation as well as ours; and be discouraging to your noble efforts. Business will doubtless revive by summer, and should the crops prove favorable, the zeal and gratitude of St. Alban's³⁵ parish will I trust revive.

Most heartily do I thank you and Mr. Dickinson³⁶ for your kind invitation. Doubtless I should greatly enjoy myself while in England; and without a wish to cross the channel, would delight to devote myself to any good cause while viewing its various objects of (to an American Churchman) surpassing interest. But the one idea of my life for the last 22 years has been Missions in the Northwest. From that field as far as missionary work is concerned I expect to retire at the opening of the next General Convention.³⁷ But until then I shall be most fully occupied if health permit—& I rejoice to say that for some months past it has been excellent. I have now appointments out for every Sunday and many week days until 4th July; and then, if I retain charge of Kansas³⁸ (which however is very doubtful) I ought to start for that Territory. Next year will bring innumerable occupations and many anxieties. and *then*, surely I shall be too old to make such a voyage. No! I must resign the hope I once cherished.

I have already intimated to you I believe that the Rev. David Keene,³⁹ rector of St. John's, Milwaukee, intends if possible to visit his native land, leaving here probable the middle of June. Being in the prime of life, of mature observation, perfectly orthodox, and well acquainted with the characteristic traits both of Englishmen and Americans, you might find him of great use in making known the objects of the Emigrant Aid Society.⁴⁰ Judge for yourselves

³⁴This refers to the period following the panic of 1857.

³⁵St. Alban's Parish, Lisbon, Waukesha County, composed largely of English immigrants.

³⁶F. H. Dickinson, Esq., one of the secretaries of the Anglo-American Emigrants' Aid Society.

³⁷The General Convention of 1859, which met in Richmond, Va., October 5th to 22nd, during which (October 13th) Henry Benjamin Whipple was consecrated first Diocesan of Minnesota and Kemper relinquished the last of his many missionary districts.

³⁸He did in fact visit Kansas in November, 1858, and returned the following summer (1859), and visited every parish and mission. In August of the latter year, at the request of the majority, he convoked and presided at what turned out to be the primary convention of the Diocese of Kansas in Wyandotte (now Kansas City, Kansas). Against his advice, for he felt the step premature (in which he was a true prophet), a diocesan organization was formed and applied for admission to the General Convention. See below, Letter of December 27th, 1859, to the Rev. N. O. Preston, Manhattan, Kansas.

³⁹For further reference to Keene, see: Breck, *Life of James Lloyd Breck*, pp. 50, 80.

⁴⁰See ante, Note 32.

when you see him. He is modest and reverential—speaks with ease and eloquence and abounds in good sense.

I have read this morning with great interest Article VI in the Jany No. of the Xth Remembrancer.⁴¹ My daughter Mrs Adams says you are the author; and I have no doubt of it. It must do good, and awaken an abiding interest in favour of your Society. I observed but two mistakes, and they are very slight. On page 168 Dr. Van Ingen⁴² is spoken of as residing in Chicago. He never did. Before he went to Minnesota, Rochester in Western New York was his home. Again the Rev. W. Adams⁴³ of Nashotah is a D.D. (and a much more learned one than Dr. V. I.) altho he will not assume the title.

Our Mr. Unonius⁴⁴ starts in April for Upsala with his family to make it his permanent home. We have great hopes that indirectly he may produce great effect upon the Swedish Ch. & awaken her to a sense of her duties & privileges. Of this hope, *nothing should be said in public*. To the extent of his means (but they are very slender) he will translate and publish to the Scandinavians the best writings of the Anglican Church, and thus if possible lead to a union at least of the National Ch of Sweden with that of England & ours.

Most truly & affly, with best love to your household
Jackson Kemper

Rev. Dr Caswall
England

LETTER⁴⁵ TO THE REV. N. O. PRESTON, MANHATTAN, KANSAS

Delafield, Wis.
27th Dec/59

My dear Sir

I enclose a transfer as you request, but I do not think it necessary. The very fact of your being a presbyter of

⁴¹The "Christian Remembrancer," an English quarterly review, Vol. XXV, pp 159-185, London, 1858. The article referred to deals with the serious losses of English emigrants to the Church, the reasons for them, what should be done and how the Society was helping to solve the problems.

⁴²The Rev. John U. Van Ingen, D.D., Rector of Christ Church, St. Paul, Minnesota; formerly Rector of Grace Church, Rochester, New York.

⁴³The Rev. William Adams, D.D., with Breck, one of the founders of Nashotah, Professor of Systematic Theology, and the Bishop's son-in-law.

⁴⁴Gustaf Unonius, a Swede, was Nashotah's first graduate, class of 1845. After ordination, he served Scandinavian congregations in Wisconsin and, in 1849, organized St. Ansgarius' Church for Swedes in Chicago. After returning to Sweden, Unonius wrote a three-volume history of Nashotah in Swedish, and the article "Swedish Church" in Staunton's "Ecclesiastical Dictionary," pp. 630-634, 4th ed., New York, 1873, is from his pen. See, further: Breck, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 463; *Historical Magazine*, Vol. II, pp. 14-18.

⁴⁵The original in the possession of Wm. Ives Rutter, Jr., of Philadelphia.

Kansas, and especially of your having united in forming the Diocese,⁴⁶ would entitle you to every privilege.

I hear there is an intention of making Dr. Howe⁴⁷ your Bishop. I trust this will not be the case, for if elected I shall consider myself bound to oppose his consecration. Surely there are enough men after your own heart against whom there can be no objections besides Dr. Howe.

Very truly yours,

Jackson Kemper

Rev. N. O. Preston,
Manhattan,
Kansas.

⁴⁶In 1859 there were nine clergymen in the Territory of Kansas, including the chaplains at the forts. During Bishop Kemper's visitation of the summer preceding the date of this letter, a majority of these requested a meeting or assembly of the Church in the territory. Bishop Kemper complied and presided at this primary convention held in Wyandotte (the oldest municipality, platted and settled by whites in 1857 and now part of Kansas City, Kansas), where a diocesan organization was formed and application made to the General Convention of that fall for admission. Bishop Kemper opposed the measure as premature, in which he was correct.

⁴⁷The Rev. Mark A. DeWolfe Howe, D.D., then rector of St. Luke's Church, Philadelphia. Kemper's opposition to any candidate for the episcopate in any diocese under his jurisdiction was exceptional. Hitherto he had scrupulously avoided even the shadow of exercising undue influence upon his clergy in an episcopal election. This forthright declaration served its purpose. Dr. Howe was not elected Bishop of Kansas. After Kemper's death, he was elected first Bishop of Central Pennsylvania, and consecrated December 28, 1871.

In 1860, the clergy of Kansas elected the Rev. Francis McNeece Whittle, rector of St. Paul's Church, Louisville, Kentucky, but the laity did not concur. Whittle was consecrated Assistant Bishop of Virginia, April 30, 1868, and became fifth Bishop of Virginia, 1876.

At a later convention, the Rev. Heman Dyer of New York, Secretary of the Evangelical Knowledge Society and a leader in the organization of the American Church Missionary Society in 1858, was elected. In 1835, when the news reached Kenyon College, where Dyer was one of the young professors, that in the reorganization of the Missionary Society, the domestic missions had been handed over to the High Churchmen and foreign missions to the Low Churchmen, Dyer exclaimed: "What a mistake! What a blunder!" Dyer declined his election to Kansas.

The Diocese of Kansas then placed itself under the care of Bishop Lee of Iowa, who faithfully discharged his duty until the consecration of Dr. Thomas H. Vail, December 15, 1864, as first Bishop of Kansas.

KEMPER BIBLIOGRAPHY

Compiled by an Associate Editor

THE collection of Bishop Kemper manuscripts and other documents in the archives of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, is a storehouse of source material not only for his life but for the history of the American Episcopal Church during his episcopate: 1835-1870. Comparatively little work has been done upon it by scholars and, in fact, a complete catalogue of the collection is not yet available. The following brief summary of the collection is furnished us by the Rev. Alden Drew Kelley, Chaplain of St. Francis' House, Madison, Wisconsin, who promises us a detailed catalogue for a later issue.

- A. 50 bound volumes of miscellaneous papers totaling over 7,000 items, including letters received, letters written (mainly to members of the Bishop's family), receipts, bills, etc.; minutes, resolutions, official forms, reports, pamphlets, clippings from newspapers and magazines, and miscellaneous notes.
- B. 63 diaries (the most of which are not complete and there are many periods of time which have no entries).
- C. 15 letter-books of various dates giving copies of letters which the Bishop wrote.
- D. 29 miscellaneous note-books.
- E. 5 account books and a register.
- F. 4 notebooks on miscellaneous religious subjects, texts for sermons, Bible class notes, etc.
- G. 1 book giving portion of diary and "plan of Study" (the latter being the Bishop's rules for prayer, study, etc.).
- H. 1 package of miscellaneous fragments (about 60 different items).

PUBLISHED SELECTIONS

The following catalogue is, to the best of our knowledge, a complete list of published selections of the Kemper documents, arranged in chronological order of events in the Bishop's life:

I. Wisconsin Historical Collections, R. G. Thwaites, Editor; Vol. XIV., pp. 394-449; Madison, 1898. "Journal of an Episcopalian Missionary's Tour to Green Bay," with notes by the Editor. Selections from Kemper's Journal dealing with his trip of inspection to the Green Bay Mission in 1834.

II. Nashotah Scholiast, Vol. II. (Oct., 1884-June, 1885). "Extracts from Bishop Kemper's Letters" concerning missionary tours in the Southwest and South (1837-1838): (pp. 4-5, Shawnee Methodist Mission, Indian Territory, Nov. 22, 1837; Fort Leavenworth, Ind. Terr., Nov. 24, 1837; Boonville, Mo., Nov. 11, 1838); (pp. 27-28, Polk County, Mo., Nov. 16, 1838; Sarcoxie, Mo., Nov. 19, 1838); (pp. 42-43, Seneca Agency, Nov. 21-Dec. 2, 1838); (pp. 52-54, Visitation of South at request of Bishop Otey, Jan. 19-Feb. 19, 1838, Memphis, Natchez, Woodville, New Orleans); (pp. 77-78, Mobile, Ala., Feb. 23—Pensacola, Fla., March 2, 1838); (p. 101, Tallahassee, Fla., March 10, March 23-April 16, 1838); (pp. 112-113, Macon, Ga.; Columbus, Miss.; Montgomery, Ala.; Greensboro, Tuscaloosa, Ala.); (pp. 125-127, April 19-May 12, 1838, Columbus, Miss. — New Orleans, La.).

III. Wisconsin Magazine of History, Volume VIII.: 423-445, June, 1925. "A Trip Through Wisconsin in 1838," being Kemper's primary visitation of Wisconsin, covering his Journal from July 18th to August 25th, 1838.

IV. Minnesota History (magazine of the Minnesota Historical Society), Volume VII. (1926), pp. 264-273. "Bishop Jackson Kemper's Visit to Minnesota in 1843," being selections from Kemper's letters and diary with introduction and footnotes supplied by Dr. Grace L. Nute, Curator of Manuscripts for the Minnesota Historical Society.

V. Nashotah Scholiast, Vol. I. (Dec., 1883-July, 1884). "Extracts from Bishop Kemper's Journal in regard to the Beginnings of Nashotah." No. 1, 1-3 (Jan.-Sept., 1841); No. 2, pp. 1-3 (Sept.-Oct., 1841); No. 3, pp. 1-3 (1843-Feb., 1844); No. 4, pp. 2-3 (Feb.-Mar., 1844); No. 5, pp. 1-3 (July, 1844-Apr., 1845); No. 6, pp. 1-3 (June, 1845-May, 1846); No. 7, pp. 1-3 (July, 1846-Dec., 1848); No. 8, pp. 1-3 (Jan., 1849-June, 1859).

VI. Nashotah Scholiast, Vol. II (October, 1884-Dec., 1884-Feb., 1884), pp. 25, 41, 58. "The Story of Kemper College, St. Louis," by C. F. Robertson, Bishop of Missouri. While not strictly Kemper MSS., this account of an institution begun by Bishop Kemper and bound up with the early years of his episcopate appears to have been based on considerable first-hand information.

VII. Katharine Jeanne Gallagher (Goucher College, Baltimore, Md.): "A Bishop of the Old Frontier"; sub-title: "The Work of Bishop Jackson Kemper in the Northwest Mission." A doctor's thesis, still in manuscript form which will be in the custody of the University of Wisconsin, based on Kemper manuscripts which are extensively quoted.



CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA

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VOL. IV

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No. 4

EDITORIAL NOTES

THE present issue brings to a close the fourth annual volume of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. Beginning in the throes of the depression, it made its way very slowly so far as subscribers were concerned, and that affected its income from advertising. But for the timely aid of a group of friends who formed a guarantee fund, it would not have been possible to continue publication. The editors, however, are glad to be able to report a steady improvement. The number of annual subscribers is growing, largely owing to the efforts of our Treasurer, the Rev. Walter H. Stowe, who has been untiring in his efforts to increase the circulation. The Editor and his associates desire to express their appreciation to the Church press for their kind commendations of the Magazine and to not a few of the Bishops and Clergy for the interest they have manifested. Many letters have been received commending the double Jackson Kemper number. The Editor desires to state that owing to his absence abroad that number was prepared by Mr. Stowe, with the able assistance of Dr. Brydon. He is greatly indebted to them for their excellent work. A kindly word of appreciation is due to the men who, without any financial compensation, have contributed articles to the Magazine. All work is done by men whose one desire is to awaken real interest in the history of the American Church and from the conviction that a knowledge of the past is essential to an intelligent understanding of the problems of the present. There is yet a vast mass of material awaiting publication. If funds were available we could profitably double the size of the Magazine, and it is our hope to increase the number of pages from time to time. We bespeak the continued and increasing interest of the members of our Church in this venture.

THE GENERAL CONVENTIONS OF 1785, 1786 AND 1789*

By E. Clowes Chorley

THE Declaration of Independence of 1776 disrupted the Church of England in the American colonies. The Treaty of 1783 by which Great Britain acknowledged that Independence severed the last official link with the English Church. Prior to the Revolution the one bond of union in the American Church was the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London acting through his Commissaries. That jurisdiction ceased practically in 1776; technically in 1783. The parishes were thrown upon their own meager resources.

The Church was ill-equipped to meet the new day. For her clergy she had depended upon the arrival of missionaries from England and the sending of her candidates for Orders to England for ordination. That could no longer be done. With the advent of the Revolution many of the loyalist clergy returned to England; others migrated to such British colonies as Nova Scotia. Not a few who remained ceased to officiate, and we have the authority of Bishop White for saying that "the doors of the far greater number of the Episcopal Churches were closed for several years."¹ For a time he was the only resident minister of this church in the entire State of Pennsylvania; in Massachusetts there were three. During the Revolution there were not more than eighty parochial clergymen north and east of Maryland, and with the exception of a few strong parishes in New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Newport, Rhode Island, most of the clergy at work were dependent on the bounty of the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Owing to its Charter which limited its operations "to the plantations, colonies and factories belonging to the kingdom of Great Britain," the S. P. G. was not only unable to send missionaries to the newly established States of America, but was also compelled to withdraw the stipends of those already at work in the United States.² Without the Episcopate there could be no ordinations, and the succession of the ministry was cut off at its source. Added to all this, the parishes

*The technical question as to whether or no these Conventions, save the adjourned one of 1789, were "General" Conventions, is not here discussed.

¹White. *Memoirs of the Church*, p. 17.

²Beardsley. *Life and Correspondence of Samuel Seabury*, p. 176.

in each State were independent. There was no central authority. Hence Connecticut, without the knowledge of the Church in any State, save New York, could elect Samuel Seabury as its first bishop and send him to England for consecration. Obviously, as Bishop White wrote, "It was evident, that without the creating of some new tie, the churches in the different States, and even those in the same State, might adopt such varying measures as would forever prevent their being combined in one common union."³

The leaders of the Church agreed that unity was essential, but they differed sharply as to the method of its accomplishment. The Church in New England felt that the Episcopate was essential to unity, and therefore the first step should be to obtain the Episcopate. What was then called "the Church to the South" was ready to organize the Church and get bishops as soon as possible. Between the two groups there were fundamental ecclesiastical differences and, after his consecration, Seabury wrote Bishop John Skinner, jr., "I always feared . . . the lax principles of the Southern Clergy."⁴ It took six years to bring the two groups together. The situation was critical. The first order of the ministry was lacking, and many of the faithful were as sheep without a shepherd. Humanly speaking, without the Episcopate, and without the creation of a common bond of union, the Church in America was in grave danger of extinction.

Under these conditions the Church in some of the States took independent steps to conserve their religious rights and liberties; their property rights and to consolidate their own position without regard to the larger issue of union of the Church as a whole. Maryland took the lead in 1780 at a Convention attended by three clergymen and twenty-four laymen. It was at this meeting that the Rev. James Jones Wilmer's motion, "Be it resolved that the Church formerly known in the Province as the Church of England should now be called the Protestant Episcopal Church" was approved. In 1783 at a meeting of the clergy there was adopted a "Declaration of certain fundamental Rights and Liberties." It ran in part:

"We consider it as the undoubted right of the said Protestant Episcopal Church in common with other Christian Churches under the American Revolution, to complete and preserve herself as an *entire* Church, agreeably to her ancient usages and possessions; and to have the full enjoyment and free exercise of those purely spiritual powers which are essential to the being of every Church or congregation of the faithful, and which being derived only from CHRIST

³White. *Memoirs of the Church*, pp. 18-19.

⁴*Historical Magazine*, Vol. III., p. 188.

and his *Apostles*, are to be maintained *independent* of every *foreign* or other jurisdiction, so far as may be consistent with the civil rights of society."

Among the rights thus claimed were the three orders of the ministry; Episcopal ordination and commission as necessary to a valid administration of the sacraments, and, when assembled in lawful Synod, so to change the Liturgy of the Church of England as befitted the change of the Church of Maryland "from a daughter to a sister Church."⁵ Late in 1783 the Rev. Dr. William White, rector of the united churches in Philadelphia, outlined to his Vestry a plan for creating a representative body of churchmen in Pennsylvania. St. Paul's united with Christ Church and St. Peter's in appointing lay delegates to a later conference.

Gradually a larger plan evolved. On the 26th day of January, 1784, the Rev. Abraham Beach, the militant loyalist rector of Christ Church, New Brunswick, New Jersey, addressed the following letter to the Rev. Dr. White of Philadelphia:

"New Brunswick, 26th January, 1784.

Reverend Sir:

I always expected that as soon as the Return of Peace should put it in their power, that the Members of the Episcopal Church in this Country would interest themselves in its Behalf—would endeavour to introduce Order and Uniformity into it, and provide for a Succession in the Ministry. The Silence on this Subject which hath universally prevailed, and still prevails, is a Matter of real Concern to me, and it seems to portend an utter extinction of that Church which I so highly venerate. As I flatter myself your Sentiments correspond with my own, I cannot deny myself the Satisfaction of writing you on the Subject.

Every person I have conversed with is fully sensible that something should be done, and the sooner the better. For my own Part, I think the first step that should be taken, in the present unsettled State of the Church, is to get a Meeting of as many of the Clergy as can be conveniently collected. Such a meeting appears to be peculiarly necessary in order to look into the condition of the Widows Fund, which may at present be an object worth attending to, but will unavoidably dwindle to nothing, if much longer neglected. Would it not therefore be proper to advertise a Meeting of the Corporation⁶ in the Spring at Brunswick, or any other

⁵Hawks. *Narrative of Events connected with the Rise and Progress of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland*, pp. 294-296.

⁶The reference is to the Colonial Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Deceased Clergymen which operated in Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey. For the History of this Corporation, see Stowe: *Historical Magazine*, Vol. III., pp. 19-33.

place that may be thought more convenient; and endeavour to get together as many as possible of the Clergy, who are not members, at the same time and place.

A Sincere regard to the Interests of the Church induces me to make these Proposals, wishing to be favoured with your sentiments upon this subject. If any Thing should occur to you as necessary to be done, in order to put us on an equal Footing with other Denominations of Christians, and cement us together in the Bonds of Love, I should be happy in an opportunity of assisting it.

I am, Reverend Sir,
Your affectionate Brother,
And very humble Servant,
Abraham Beach.

The Reverend Dr. White,
Rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia."

Dr. White cordially approved of the plan, as did Samuel Provoost and Benjamin Moore of New York, who thought it "absolutely necessary." The meeting was held at New Brunswick on Tuesday, May 11, 1784, there being present ten clergymen and seven laymen coming from New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. After general discussion Messrs. Beach, Bloomer and Moore of the clergy were appointed to wait on the clergy of Connecticut "for the purpose of soliciting their concurrence with us in such measures as may be deemed conducive to the Union and Prosperity of the Episcopal Churches in the United States of America." Another committee of clergy and laity was charged with the duty of drafting a plan for a "Continental Representation of the Episcopal Church, and for the better management of the concerns of the said Church."⁷ Before separating it was agreed to convene a more representative meeting in New York.

The clerical deputation lost no time in visiting Connecticut. On June 19th Dr. Beach reported to Dr. White "that the clergy there appear well disposed to join the Episcopal Church in the other States, in forming Regulations for the government of it, and for preserving uniformity of worship." They did, however, make objections "with respect to Lay delegates," remarking "that they thought themselves fully adequate to the Business of representing the Episcopal Church in their State, and that the Laity did not EXPECT, or Wish to be called in as delegates on such an occasion; but would, with full confidence, trust matters purely Ecclesiastical to their clergy." Never-

⁷The minutes of this meeting "in ye handwriting of ye Revd. Benjamin Moore (since Bp.) of New York," and so endorsed by Dr. White, are reprinted in Vol. III., p. 7, of Perry's *Half Century of the Legislation of the American Church*.

theless, the clergy of Connecticut agreed to be represented at the New York meeting.

Just prior to the New Brunswick meeting a conference of the clergy and laity of the three Philadelphia churches met at the house of Dr. White. Convinced of "ye necessity of speedily adopting Measures for ye forming of a Plan of ecclesiastical Government for ye Episcopal Church," they were driven to the conclusion "that a subject of such Importance ought to be taken up, if possible, with ye concurrence of ye Episcopalians generally in ye States."⁸ A further meeting was held on May 24. The record states that "the gentlemen assembled, after some conversation concerning a concurrence with their brethren in the other States, in means for the preservation of their communion," appointed a committee "to consider the matter more maturely." A further step was taken in the appointment of a Standing Committee of clergy and laity "empowered to correspond and confer with representatives from the episcopal church in other States, or any of them; and assist in framing an ecclesiastical government."⁹ The really significant thing was that this Standing Committee recommended the adoption of the following fundamental principles of a Constitution:

First. That the episcopal church in these states is, and ought to be, independent of all foreign authority, ecclesiastical or civil.

Second. That it hath, and ought to have, in common with all other religious societies, full and exclusive powers to regulate the concerns of its own communion.

Third. That the doctrines of the gospel be maintained, as now professed by the Church of England; and uniformity of worship continued, as near as may be, to the liturgy of the said Church.

Fourth. That the succession of the ministry be agreeable to the usage, which requireth the three orders of bishops, priests and deacons; that the rights and powers of the same, respectively, be ascertained; and that they be exercised, according to reasonable laws, to be duly made.

Fifth. That to make canons, or laws, there be no other authority, than that of a representative body of the clergy and laity conjointly.

Sixth. That no powers be delegated to a general ecclesiastical government, except such as cannot conveniently be exercised by the clergy and laity, in their respective congregations.

To Pennsylvania therefore belongs the distinction of taking the lead in framing the fundamental principles of a Constitution for the Church; in recognizing the rights of the laity in such an important task and giving them an equal place with the clergy in the councils of the Church. It may be safely assumed that the guiding spirit

⁸*Journals of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, p. 4.*

⁹*Ibid., p. 6.*

was William White; the more so, as they follow in the main the principles he expounded in his pamphlet, "*The Case of the Episcopal Churches Considered*," issued in 1783.

The conference in New York met on October 6th, 1784. There were in attendance fifteen clerical and eleven lay delegates coming from the States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland. Virginia was unofficially represented by the Rev. David Griffith. Under the law as it then stood the clergy of Virginia were not permitted to send delegates or consent to any alteration in the Order, Doctrine or Worship of the Church. The Rev. John Marshall of Connecticut, who was present, announced that the clergy of that State "had taken measures for the obtaining of an Episcopate," and "until their design, in that particular, should be accomplished, they could do nothing."¹⁰

The Minutes of the meeting were printed in a document which Bishop White states "was in very few hands at the time." Dr. William Smith of Maryland presided, and the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Moore of New York served as secretary. A committee of four clerical and four lay delegates was appointed "to essay the fundamental principles of a general Constitution," and also "to frame and propose to the Convention a proper substitute for the State Prayers in the Liturgy, to be used for the sake (of) uniformity, till a further Review shall be undertaken by General Authority and Consent of the Church."¹¹ The Convention recommended that the Church in the various States should organize and then unite in a general ecclesiastical Constitution. That Constitution was to embody the following fundamental principles:

1. That there shall be a General Convention of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America.
2. That the Episcopal Church in each State, send Deputies to the Convention, consisting of Clergy and Laity.
3. That associated Congregations in two or more States may send Deputies jointly.
4. That the said Church shall maintain the Doctrines of the Gospel as now held by the Church of England, and shall adhere to the Liturgy of the said Church, as far as shall be consistent with the American Revolution and the Constitutions of the respective States.
5. That in every State where there shall be a Bishop duly consecrated and settled, he shall be considered as a member of the Convention *ex-officio*.

¹⁰White. *Memoirs of the Church*. pp. 87-88.

¹¹Perry. *Historical Documents Vol. III.*, pp. 3-5.

6. That the Clergy and Laity assembled in Convention shall deliberate in one Body, but shall vote separately; and the concurrence of both shall be necessary to give Validity to every Measure.
7. That the first meeting of the Convention shall be at *Philadelphia*, the Tuesday before the Feast of St. Michael next; to which it is hoped and earnestly desired, That the Episcopal Churches in the respective States, will send their Clerical and Lay Deputies, duly instructed and authorized to proceed on the necessary Business herein proposed for their Deliberation.

The next few months witnessed the organization of the Church in most of the States; and the election of Deputies with instructions to govern their conduct. Some difficulty was apprehended in the case of the Church in South Carolina, but it was smoothed over with the understanding that no bishop should be sent to that State. So was the way paved for the first General Convention.

THE CONVENTION OF 1785.

On the 27th day of September, 1785, the first General Convention gathered in Christ Church, Philadelphia. Seven States were represented by sixteen clerical, and twenty-six lay Deputies. It is worthy of note that Pennsylvania sent thirteen lay Deputies and Delaware six. The States represented were New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and South Carolina. William White was president and David Griffith of Virginia secretary. It was not a Convention of the whole Church. There were notable absences—Bishop Seabury and any Deputies from New England. The Connecticut clergy regarded some of the principles of the New York Constitution as violating Catholic tradition and they would have neither part nor lot in lay representation. They had also taken alarm at certain parts of Dr. White's "*Case of the Episcopal Churches Considered*." Seabury himself strongly disapproved of the acts of New York Convention. Writing to Bishop John Skinner, Jr., he said: "I cannot but consider this a very lame, if not a mischievous business. It will bring the Clergy into abject bondage to the Laity & a Bp. seems to have no more power in the Convention than a Lay member. Doctrines, Disciplines, Liturgies, are all to be under lay control."¹² In answer to an invitation from Dr. White to attend the Convention, he wrote: "I do most earnestly wish to have our Ch'ch in all the States so settled that it may be one Ch'ch, united in government, doctrines and discipline—that there may be no divisions among us—no opposition of interests—no clashing of opinions."¹³

¹²*Historical Magazine*, Vol. III., p. 188.

¹³Perry. *Historical Documents*. Vol. III., p. 81.

But all he could do for the time was to wait in the hope that the Convention would recede from some of the positions taken in New York.

The Convention had a threefold task—The adoption of a Constitution; the compiling of a Book of Common Prayer and the securing of the Episcopate in the English line. On the second day a committee, consisting of one clerical and one lay Deputy from each State, was appointed “to consider and report such alterations in the Liturgy, as shall render it consistent with the American Revolution and the Constitutions of the respective States.” The Rev. Dr. William Smith of Maryland was chairman. The committee reported in favor of omitting the prayer for the Royal family; likewise the petitions in the Litany for the King. The prayer for “the King’s Majesty” was changed into one for “all in authority, legislative, executive and judicial in these United States,” and that for the “High Court of Parliament” into one for “their delegates in Congress.” The special offices for “the Happy deliverance from the “Gunpowder treason”; “the Martyrdom of the Blessed King Charles I”; the “Thanksgiving for the end of the Great Rebellion,” together with the service of “Thanksgiving for the beginning of a King’s Reign,” were eliminated. The Convention approved this part of the report and resolved “That the Liturgy shall be used in this Church as accommodated to the Revolution, agreeably to the alterations now approved of and ratified by this Convention.” But it went further and resolved “That the Fourth of July shall be observed by this Church forever, as a day of thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the inestimable blessings of religious and civil liberty vouchsafed to the United States of America,” and appointed a committee to draw up a service for that day. The committee reported a form of service including the following:

“Almighty God, who hast in all ages showed forth thy power and mercy in the wonderful preservation of thy church, and in the protection of every nation and people professing thy holy and eternal truth, and putting their trust in thee; we yield thee our unfeigned thanks and praise for all thy public mercies, and more especially for that signal and wonderful manifestation of thy providence which we commemorate this day; wherefore not unto us, but unto thy Name be ascribed all honour and glory, in all churches of the Saints, from generation to generation, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*”

The Convention approved the report and resolved “That the said form of Prayer be used in this Church, on the Fourth of July for ever.” It proved, however, to be an intolerable burden to such of the clergy and people as had been Loyalists in the Revolution and was omitted

from the standard Prayer Book of 1789.¹⁴ Had the Convention been satisfied with authorizing alterations in the State Prayers, many subsequent difficulties would have been avoided. Outside New England there appears to have been a strong conviction that the times presented a favorable opportunity for a general revision of the Book of Common Prayer, a view emphatically repudiated in Connecticut. Prior to the Convention Dr. Wharton of Delaware wrote Samuel Parker of Boston, saying: "I think the simplifying of the Liturgy should be among the first objects of the Convention. . . . Perhaps such an opportunity never occurred since the days of the Apostles of settling a rational, unexceptional mode of worship. God grant we may improve it with unanimity and wisdom."¹⁵

Hence the Convention of 1785 charged the committee to report "such further alterations in the Liturgy as it may seem advisable for this Convention to recommend to the consideration of the Church here represented."¹⁶

The committee took large advantage of this authority and in a few days presented a report bristling with drastic liturgical changes, most of which Dr. Smith declared "to have the sanction of the *great* divines of 1689" . . . with such others as are thought reasonable or expedient." The changes are set forth in detail in McGarvey's *Liturgiæ Americanæ*. Here they can only be outlined. Both the Nicene and the Athanasian creeds were omitted, as was also the clause in the Apostle's creed: "He descended into Hell." Many changes were made in the Office of Baptism, permission being given to omit the sign of the Cross "if particularly desired by the sponsors or parents." Great liberties were taken with the Psalter. What were then called "the cursing verses" were left out and entirely new Psalms were made up from the regular Psalms. Bishop Seabury denounced this as without precedent in the history of the Christian Church and described it as "an unwarrantable liberty." The XXXIX Articles of Religion were ruthlessly edited and partly by combinations and partly by omissions, reduced to XX. Among those omitted entirely were "Of Purgatory"; "Of the Marriage of Priests," and "Of Excommunicated Persons." Among the suggested additions were some prayers and thanksgivings taken from Jeremy Taylor; an Office for the Visitation of Prisoners from an Irish source; a Form of Service to be used on Thanksgiving Day, and Forms of Prayers to be used in Families, adapted from Gibson, one time Bishop of London.

This Book was approved by the Convention with the proviso

¹⁴The Prayer Book of 1928 provides a Collect, Epistle and Gospel for Independence Day.

¹⁵Chorley. *The New American Prayer Book*, p. 49.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 1785, p. 18.

"That the said alterations be *proposed* and *recommended* to the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the States from which there are deputies to this Convention." The changes in the State Prayers were binding on the Church; the alterations in the Liturgy proper were "proposed" and "recommended"; hence the name given to the Prayer Book of 1785—"The Proposed Book." At the closing service of the Convention Dr. White read the service from the manuscript of the "Proposed Book." Dr. Smith wrote the Preface; Dr. White compiled the Table of Lessons and it was published in 1786. A committee was also appointed to "prepare and report a draft of an Ecclesiastical Constitution for the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America." Dr. White was chairman. It was read paragraph by paragraph, and as finally adopted read as follows:

A GENERAL ECCLESIASTICAL CONSTITUTION OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

I. That there shall be a general Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, which shall be held in the city of Philadelphia on the third Tuesday in June, in the year of our Lord 1786, and for ever after once in three years, on the third Tuesday of June, in such place as shall be determined by the Convention; and special meetings may be held at such other times and in such place as shall be hereafter provided for; and this Church, in a majority of the states aforesaid, shall be represented before they shall proceed to business; except that the representation of this Church from two States shall be sufficient to adjourn; and in all business of the Convention freedom of debate shall be allowed.

II. There shall be a representation of both Clergy and Laity of the Church in each state, which shall consist of one or more Deputies, not exceeding four, of each order; and in all questions, the said Church in each state shall have one vote; and a majority of suffrages shall be conclusive.

III. In the said Church in every state represented in this Convention there shall be a Convention consisting of the Clergy and Lay Deputies of the congregation.

IV. "The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of Church of England," shall be continued to be used by this Church, as the same is altered by this Convention, entitled "Alterations of the Liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, in order to render the same conformable to the American revolution and the constitutions of the respective states."

V. In every state where there shall be a Bishop duly consecrated and settled, and who shall have acceded to the articles of this General Ecclesiastical Constitution, he shall be considered as a member of the Convention *ex-officio*.

VI. The Bishop or Bishops in every state shall be chosen agreeably to such rules as shall be fixed by the respective Conventions; and every

Bishop of this Church shall confine the exercise of his Episcopal office to his proper jurisdiction; unless requested to ordain or confirm by any church destitute of a Bishop.

VII. A Protestant Episcopal Church in any of the United States not now represented, may at any time hereafter be admitted, on acceding to the articles of this union.

VIII. Every Clergyman, whether Bishop or Presbyter, or Deacon, shall be amenable to the authority of the Convention in the state to which he belongs, so far as relates to suspension or removal from office; and the Convention in each State shall institute rules for their conduct and an equitable mode of trial.

IX. And whereas it is represented to this Convention to be the desire of the Protestant Episcopal Church in these states, that there may be further alterations of the Liturgy than such as are made necessary by the American revolution; therefore the "Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacrament and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England," as altered by an instrument of writing, passed under the authority of this Convention, entitled "Alterations in the Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments and other rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England, proposed and recommended to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America," shall be used in this Church, when the same shall have been ratified by the Conventions which have respectively sent Deputies to this General Convention.

X. No person shall be ordained or permitted to officiate as a Minister in this Church, until he shall have subscribed the following declaration, "I do believe the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be the word of God, and to contain all things necessary to salvation; and I do solemnly engage to conform to the doctrines and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church, as settled and determined in the Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, set forth by the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States."

XI. This general Ecclesiastical Constitution when ratified by the Church in the different states, shall be considered as fundamental; and shall be unalterable by the Convention of the Church in any state.

This Constitution awaited ratification by the Church in the various States, and, as Dr. White wrote, "it stood on recommendation only."

The closing act of the Convention was to consider a plan for obtaining the Episcopate from the Church of England. It was resolved to urge the Conventions in the various States to proceed to the choice of Bishops. The following significant resolution was also adopted:

"And whereas the Bishops of this Church will not be entitled to any of such temporal honors as are due to the Archbishops and Bishops of the parent Church, in quality

of Lords of Parliament; and whereas the reputation and usefulness of our Bishops will considerably depend on their taking no higher titles or stile than will be due to their spiritual employments; that it be recommended to this Church, in the States here represented, to provide that their respective Bishops may be called 'The Right Rev. A. B., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in C. D,' and, as Bishop, may have no other title, and may not use any such stile as is usually descriptive of temporal power and precedence."¹⁷

Following this a letter was drafted to the English bench of Bishops praying for the Episcopate.

The letter is one of the great "State" papers of this Church and is understood to have been written by Doctor White. Expressing "an earnest desire and resolution to retain the venerable form of Episcopal government handed down to them, as they conceive, from the time of the Apostles, and endeared to them by the remembrance of the holy bishops of the primitive Church," they go on to say:

"The petition which we offer your venerable Body is,—that from a tender regard to the religious interests of thousands in this rising empire, professing the same religious principles with the Church of England, you will be pleased to confer the Episcopal character on such persons as shall be recommended by this Church in the several States here represented—full satisfaction being given of the sufficiency of the persons recommended, and of its being the intention of the general body of the Episcopalians in the said States respectively, to receive them in the quality of Bishops."¹⁸

The letter was signed by all the clerical and lay Deputies to the Convention. Thus ended the first "General" Convention.

THE AFTERMATH

The proceedings of the Convention were followed with keen interest especially by the New England churches which had refrained from sending Deputies. The reaction to the "Proposed Book" was so immediate and so unfavorable that it quickly became evident as Dr. White ruefully remarked, that "the labors of the Convention had not reached their object." Only thirteen copies of the Book were sold in New York and Samuel Provoost reported that "we should not be able to adopt the book at present without danger of a schism." Pennsylvania and Maryland desired the restoration of the

¹⁷*Convention Journal*, 1785, p. 25.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

Nicene creed. New Jersey, while not disapproving of all the changes, yet regretted "the unseasonableness and irregularity of them." Virginia objected to the rubric in the Communion Office relating to the discipline of notorious livers. Delaware did not even consider the Book. Connecticut "took alarm at the proceedings of the Philadelphia Convention," and would hear of no changes save in the State prayers. Addressing his Convention in 1786, Bishop Seabury said of the "Proposed Book," "The time will not permit me to say anything of the merit of the alterations in the Liturgy: But, I am persuaded, by an unprejudiced mind, some of them will be thought for the worse, and most of them not for the better."¹⁹ He thought the "true doctrine" was left "too unguarded." He impugned the authority of any Convention, in the absence of the Episcopate to adopt any liturgical or constitutional changes, on the ground that it was contrary to the tradition of the Church "which was government by bishops," and added, "This government they have degraded, by lodging the chief authority in a Convention of clerical and lay delegates—making the Church Episcopal in its orders, but Presbyterian in its government." He was particularly disturbed by the deliberate omission of the two creeds declaring that "the excluding of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds has alarmed the steady friends of the Church, lest the doctrine of Christ's divinity should go out with them." So the "*Proposed Book*" died, unwept, unhonored and unsung.

The suggested Constitution fared little better. On general principles it was open to the same objection as the Prayer Book—its adoption in the absence of bishops. In particular Bishop Seabury raised objection to some of its fundamental principles. He pointed out that while a bishop was a member of the Convention *ex-officio*, there was no provision that he should preside at its meeting. He "did not apprehend" that giving the laity a share in the government of the Church was "the practice of the primitive Church." But his strongest objection was to the Article giving the State Conventions power to bring to trial Presbyters and Bishops, and even to suspend or depose them. In this he was sustained by the English bishops, who expressed the view that Article VIII "appears to us to be a degradation of the clerical and still more of the Episcopal character."²⁰ Evidently, the day of union had not yet dawned, but there was the sound of the wind in the tops of the mulberry trees.

¹⁹*Chorley. The New American Prayer Book, p. 55.*

²⁰*Journal, 1786, p. 36.*

THE CONVENTION OF 1786.

On Tuesday, June 20, 1786, a second Convention met in Christ Church, Philadelphia. It is officially described as "A Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, Maryland and South Carolina." Again the Churches of New England were unrepresented. In all there were fourteen clerical and twelve lay Deputies. The Rev. David Griffith of Virginia was elected President, and the Hon. Francis Hopkinson, a lay Deputy from Pennsylvania, served as Secretary.

The Convention was convened to hear the reply of the English Archbishops to the request of 1785 for the consecration of bishops for America. That reply was cordial, but cautious. "We are now able to assure you," they wrote, that nothing is dearer to our hearts than the wish to promote your spiritual welfare, to be instrumental in procuring for you the complete exercise of our holy religion, and the enjoyment of that Ecclesiastical Constitution, which we believe to be truly apostolical, and for which you express so unreserved a veneration."²¹

It appears, however, that at the time this reply was written official copies of the proposed Constitution and of the "Proposed Book" had not reached the Archbishops. But through unofficial channels they had heard enough to make them hesitate. Hence they added, "For while we are anxious to give every proof, not only of our brotherly affection, but of our facility in forwarding your wishes, we cannot but be extremely cautious, lest we should be the instrument of establishing an Ecclesiastical system which will be called a branch of the Church of England, but afterwards may possibly appear to have departed from it essentially, either in doctrine or discipline."²² In reply thereto the Convention of 1786 wrote:

"We are unanimous and explicit in assuring your Lordships, that we neither have departed, nor propose to depart from the doctrines of your Church. We have retained the same discipline and forms of worship, as far as was consistent with our civil Constitutions; and we have made no alterations or omissions in the Book of Common Prayer but such as that consideration prescribed, and such as were calculated to remove objections, which appeared to us more conducive to union and general content to obviate, than to dispute. It is well known, that many great and pious men of the Church of England have long wished for a revision of the

²¹*Journal, 1786, p. 36.*

²²*Journal, 1786, p. 36.*

Liturgy, which it was deemed imprudent to hazard, lest it might become a precedent for repeated and improper alterations. This is with us the proper season for such a revision. We are now settling and ordering the affairs of our Church, and if wisely done, we shall have reason to promise ourselves all the advantages that can result from stability and union."²³

The Convention then proceeded to make some important changes in the Constitution as approved in 1785. In the main they looked toward the broadening of the functions and powers of the Episcopate and were designed to meet the objection raised by Bishop Seabury and the Church of England. Article V was amended to make it clear that a bishop was *ex-officio* a member of the General Convention, with the added proviso that a bishop, if present, should preside. Article VI gave power to a bishop officiating outside his own jurisdiction "to perform," in addition to confirmation and ordination, "any other act of the Episcopal office." The strong opposition to Article VIII, lodging in a State Convention the exercise of clerical discipline even to the extent of "suspension or removal from office," was amended by adding the proviso that

"At every trial of a Bishop, there shall be one or more of the Episcopal order present; and none but a Bishop shall pronounce sentence of deposition or degradation from the ministry on any clergyman, whether Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon."

Article X on Ordination made provision for the first time that all candidates for Orders should be examined by a bishop and two presbyters, and exhibit "testimonials of his moral conduct for three years past, signed by the Minister and a majority of the Vestry of the church where he has last resided."

The Convention then adjourned on call to receive an answer from the English Bishops.

THE ADJOURNED CONVENTION

met at Wilmington, Delaware, on October 10, 1786. Though the Convention lasted only two days, it transacted business of vital import to the Church.

The Archbishops wrote:

"We saw with grief, that two of the Confessions of our Christian faith, respectable for their antiquity, have been

²³*Ibid.*, p. 44.

entirely laid aside; and that even in that which is called the Apostle's Creed, an article is omitted which was thought necessary to be inserted, with a view to a particular heresy, in a very early age of the Church, and has ever since had the venerable sanction of universal reception."²⁴

In the hope that this intimation would have its desired effect, the letter went on to say that a bill was before Parliament which would "empower the Archbishops to consecrate to the office of Bishop, Persons, being Subjects or Citizens of Countries out of His Majesty's dominions." A subsequent letter stated that this bill had passed Parliament and received the royal assent. The only remaining obstacle turned on the action of the Convention in relation to certain changes in the Prayer Book. To this matter the Convention now addressed itself. The restoration of the Nicene Creed received unanimous consent. The reinsertion of the clause in the Apostles' Creed, "He descended into Hell," New Jersey and South Carolina voted Aye; New York, Pennsylvania and Delaware were divided. The clause was reinserted. Then came the question of the Athanasian Creed. New York, Pennsylvania and South Carolina voted against its restoration; the vote in New Jersey and Delaware was divided, "and so it was determined in the negative." Before adjournment it was officially reported that Samuel Provoost had been elected Bishop of New York; William White Bishop of Pennsylvania, and David Griffith Bishop of Virginia, and their testimonials were duly signed. David Griffith was not able to take the journey to England, partly for lack of means and partly owing to local conditions then prevailing in the diocese. Later he withdrew his acceptance of the election. William White and Samuel Provoost were consecrated Bishops of the Church of God in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, London, on February 4th, 1787. So ended the adjourned Convention of 1787.

THE CONVENTION OF 1789

The night of division in the American Church was far spent. The day of union was rapidly approaching. In the intervening months before the next Convention the leaders were coming to a better understanding. Bishop White was diplomatic; Bishop Seabury was conciliatory; only Bishop Provoost stood aloof.

The 1789 Convention met in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on July 28, 1789, with seventeen clerical and sixteen lay Deputies representing the Church in the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, Virginia and South Carolina. Dr.

²⁴*Journal, 1786, p. 52.*

Griffith was present as a clerical deputy from Virginia and the Standing Committee of that State officially reported "that he had relinquished his appointment as bishop-elect of Virginia, and that no person had been elected in his room." Dr. Griffith died in Philadelphia during the sessions of the Convention.

For the first time the Church in America had three bishops. Bishop White was present and presided; Bishop Provoost was detained at home by illness, and Bishop Seabury was waiting the course of events back in Connecticut. Regardless of the difference of lineage the Church had the number of bishops traditionally necessary to perpetuate the succession.

A communication was read from the clergy of New Hampshire and Massachusetts stating that they had elected the Rev. Dr. Edward Bass, rector of St. Paul's, Newburyport, as Bishop, and requesting the Bishops of Connecticut, Pennsylvania and New York to unite in "consecrating our said brother, and canonically investing him with the apostolic office and powers." It was understood that Bishop Seabury was willing to co-operate. Bishop White cordially approved of the election of Dr. Bass, but felt himself bound by an understanding with the English Archbishops that America should obtain three bishops in the English line before making any further additions to the Episcopate. Actually this was accomplished the following year by the consecration in London of James Madison as Bishop of Virginia.

Ten Canons were adopted for the government of the Church and a change was made in the Constitution providing that when there were three or more bishops they should sit as a separate House in the General Convention with a negative on the acts of the House of Deputies, save when those acts were reconfirmed by a four-fifths vote.

There remained one obstacle to union. A small group, led by Samuel Provoost of New York and Robert Smith of South Carolina, challenged the validity of Seabury's Scottish consecration. In 1786 the diocese of New York instructed its Deputies to the General Convention in these terms: "That the persons appointed to represent this Church be instructed not to consent to any act that may imply the validity of Dr. Seabury's ordinations."²⁵ A similar motion was brought before the General Convention itself, but without success. Bishop Seabury felt this hostility very keenly. Writing to Bishop White, he said, "For my own part, gladly would I contribute to the union and uniformity of all our churches. But while Bishop Provoost disputes the validity of my consecration, I can take no step toward

²⁵*Journal of the Diocese of New York, 1786, p. 9.*

the accomplishment of so great and desirable objects."²⁶ When this letter was read in the Convention it was

"Resolved unanimously,—That it is the opinion of this Convention, that the consecration of the Right Rev. Dr. Seabury to the Episcopal office is valid."²⁷

Before adjournment it was determined to send to Bishop Seabury and to all the Churches not included in the Convention, copies of the minutes of the proceedings, "to notify to them the time and place to which this Convention should adjourn, and request their attendance at the same, for the good purposes of union and general government."²⁸ With this olive branch the Convention adjourned.

THE ADJOURNED CONVENTION OF 1789.

The declared purpose of the adjourned Convention of 1789 was to meet with the Bishop and clergy of Connecticut and the clergy of Massachusetts and New Hampshire "for the purpose of settling articles of union, discipline, uniformity of worship, and general government among all the Churches in the United States." It met on September 29th. Bishop White presided *ex-officio*. On the second day there appears this historic record in the Journal:

"The Right Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Connecticut, attended, to confer with the Convention, agreeable to the invitation given him, in consequence of a resolve passed at their last session; and the Rev. Dr. Samuel Parker, Deputy from the Churches in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and the Rev. Mr. Bela Hubbard and the Rev. Mr. Abraham Jarvis, Deputies from the Church in Connecticut, produced testimonials of their appointment to confer with the Convention, in consequence of a similar invitation."²⁹

Dr. Seabury produced his Letters of Consecration "to the holy office of a Bishop in this Church." Bishops White and Seabury constituted the House of Bishops. As the result of conference it was found that the Churches in New England were willing to approve the Constitution, provided it was amended giving the House of Bishops the right to originate legislation and "to negative such acts proposed by the other House as they may disapprove." A compromise was effected,

²⁶Perry. *History of the American Church*, Vol. II., p. 000.

²⁷*Journal of 1789*, p. 76.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 86.

²⁹*Convention Journal, 1789*, p. 93.

the right to negative being postponed to the next Convention. It was a joyous moment when an agreement was reached. The record runs:

"We do hereby agree to the Constitution of the Church, as modified this day in Convention."

Samuel Seabury, D. D., Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut.

Abraham Jarvis, A. M., Rector of Christ Church, Middletown.

Bela Hubbard, A. M., Rector of Trinity Church, New Haven.

Samuel Parker, D. D., Rector of Trinity Church, Boston, and Clerical Deputy for Massachusetts and New Hampshire.³⁰

The aforesaid gentlemen then took their seats as members of the General Convention. After six divisive years the great Head of the Church brought men to be of one mind in one house.

The Convention then addressed itself to the preparation of an American Book of Common Prayer with an evident desire to depart from the English book as little as possible.

New sentences were added to Morning and Evening Prayer. In the "Te Deum" the words, "Thou didst humble thyself to be born of a Virgin" were substituted for "Thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb." Prayers were provided for the President of the United States, Congress, and "all in civil authority." In the Apostle's creed permission was given to omit the words, "He descended into Hell," or to say, "He went into the place of departed spirits." The House of Bishops proposed the insertion of the Athanasian creed with a rubric permitting, but not enjoining, its use. This was a gesture to Connecticut, where it was said that its omission "would hazard the reception of the Book." Bishop White records the fact that the House of Deputies "would not allow of the creed in any shape, which was thought intolerant by the gentlemen from New England, who, with Bishop Seabury, gave it up with great reluctance."³¹ Permission was given to add to the Ten Commandments our Lord's summary: "Thou shalt love, &c," the purpose being to "give to the weight of Moses, the greater authority of our Saviour." The prayer of Consecration in Communion Office followed the Scottish form—a plan dear to the heart of Bishop Seabury—and which he recommended to the congregations of Connecticut in 1786. The Articles of Religion were omitted pending further consideration.

³⁰*Convention Journal, 1789, p. 97.*

³¹*White. Memoirs of the Church, p. 174.*

So it came to pass that in 1789 the Church was equipped with the Episcopate, a Constitution, Canons and a Book of Common Prayer.

Looking back on this formative period, four names stand out—Samuel Seabury, William White, William Smith of Maryland, and Samuel Parker. Seabury, of whom it was said that “his manners resembled those of a gentleman in the reign of Queen Anne,” had a difficult part to play. A man of strong church convictions, he knew when to yield in the interest of the union of the Church. As soon as Bishops White and Provoost returned to America after consecration in England, he extended to them a cordial welcome and offered his co-operation. In spite of certain personal defects which prevented his consecration as Bishop of Maryland, William Smith left his impress on the Prayer Book and the Constitution and was an influential factor in the Church of that day, while Samuel Parker did much to bring together the Church to the South and the Church in New England.

But the outstanding name is that of William White, rector of the united churches in Philadelphia, and first Bishop of Pennsylvania. Wise beyond his years—he was only thirty-five at this period—he was ecclesiastical statesman of the highest order. It was he who “took incipient” measures for “the organization of our Church out of the wreck of the Revolution.” His pamphlet, *“The Case of the Episcopal Churches Considered,”* outlines in masterly fashion a plan for the organization of the Church. He was courteous, conciliatory, but adamant in defence of such fundamental principles as the admission of the laity to a share in the government of the Church. In a very real sense his memory should be venerated as the Father of the American Church.

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THE REV. JOHN HENRY HOPKINS, JR.

By John Henry Hopkins, III.

THE first two John Henry Hopkinses were giants. John Henry, the first, afterwards Bishop of Vermont, was an only child. His father came from English stock. Coventry claimed the clan for generations. His brilliant mother was Irish, Elizabeth Fitzackerly by name, and he was born in Dublin, January 30, 1792. His parents struck out for America in 1800, to make their fortune in the new world, their gifted little son being but eight years of age.

This remarkable boy grew up in New Jersey and Philadelphia, for the most part. Highly endowed with intellectual and artistic gifts, he early became proficient in languages, music and art, his chief teacher being his mother. When Philadelphia had 40,000 population, and he was but seventeen years old, he was, for instance, the leading 'cello soloist in the city. Strange to say, in view of his lifework later on, his home atmosphere at this time was not especially religious, and, such as it was, did not center in the Episcopal Church.

A business career was his first ambition, and one of the iron furnaces near Pittsburgh found him hard at work, as a manager in his early twenties.

Napoleon now enters our tale for a moment.

Caspar Otto Muller was a wealthy merchant in Hamburg, Germany, as the Nineteenth Century dawned. When Napoleon occupied Hamburg, the Muller family was ruined in the sequel, and in 1808 emigrated to America, finally building their log home in New Harmony, near Pittsburgh.

Their daughter, Melusina, was richly blessed with musical talent, including a beautiful soprano voice. The two young people met in the wilderness, and on May 6th, 1816, were married.

John Henry the First was then the young iron-master, but had read some law in his evenings. The iron business soon went to pieces, in one of the country's numerous financial slumps, and then he turned to law. In a very brief time he became one of the leading lawyers of Western Pennsylvania, his income reaching \$5,000.00 a year (and a dollar meant something in those days), before he was twenty-eight.

His bride was deeply religious. Her German forbears for generations had been Lutheran ministers. From the start the young people

were active in Pittsburgh's religious circles, and their musical ability was conspicuous in the choirs.

John Henry, among his other gifts, was a composer and an organist. Much of the music sung in their choir-work was from his pen. Melusina sang with the choristers and he played the organ. When the little choir loft of Trinity Episcopal Church was in need, the Hopkinses came to the rescue, and thus commenced their acquaintance with the Prayer Book and all that appertains thereto.

Their married life lasted for fifty-two years, and was blessed with a dozen children, eleven living to full maturity. Of these, three were daughters and eight were sons. The daughters married able men, two being priests of the Church, and reared large families. The sons were pioneers in the ministry, in education, music, the medical profession (bacteriology), the insurance business and journalism, in New York, Vermont, San Francisco and South America. The oldest of the eight sons was John Henry, Junior, the main subject of this sketch, and was born on the feast of SS. Simon and Jude, October 28, 1820.

When he was a small boy his father, then enjoying perhaps the largest legal practice west of the Allegheny Mountains at that time, was elected by the vestry of Trinity Episcopal Church, Pittsburgh, to be their rector, at a salary of \$800.00 a year. He was to lead the parish as lay reader until he could be ordained by Bishop White. It was no trifling decision that was thus demanded. Melusina, with their growing family, eagerly and loyally acquiesced. Every obstacle was finally overcome (and there were many, naturally,) and on the third Sunday in Advent, December 14, 1823, having made the long and wintry journey over the mountains from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia, John Henry Hopkins the First was ordained Deacon by Bishop White. The following Sunday he began his ministry in Pittsburgh, and on the 12th day of the subsequent May, in the Easter season, he was ordained to the priesthood. His letters of Orders, signed by Bishop White, are in the writer's library at Grand Isle, Vermont.

So John Henry, Junior, at the age of three, found himself in a church rectory, and his nimble and sensitive little mind began at once to grasp with avidity everything that was religious and churchly, as well as literary and artistic.

His father, aged thirty-two, threw himself into his new work with unstinted energy and enthusiasm. In eighteen months he presented Bishop White with a confirmation class of one hundred and fifty candidates, which lifted his parish to the rank of third in the entire diocese of Pennsylvania, then coterminous with the State.

To add to the slender stipend, a day school was started, first of

girls and then of boys also. Melusina taught the music, voice, harp and piano. John Henry composed much of the music: overtures, waltzes, solos, duets, marches and choruses. The classics, languages and arts were also thoroughly taught, as were likewise the Catechism, the Collects, and many passages from Holy Scripture. In eight years this Rector had not only led his people to build and to fill a church holding 1,000, but had started the Church in eight different towns within ninety miles of Pittsburgh, had mastered the principles of Gothic architecture, had made the first stained glass in Western Pennsylvania, had adorned many rooms in his home and school with artistic paintings, had commenced his eighteen years' study of the Ante-Nicene and Post-Nicene fathers in the original Greek and Latin, and had begun to train his very able first-born son in the rudiments of all this versatility.

In 1831 the family moved to Massachusetts, where the Pittsburgh Rector became the assistant minister at Trinity Church, Boston, teaching also in the Seminary at Cambridge.

In 1832 he was elected first Bishop of the newly-organized Diocese of Vermont, and the family moved to the beautifully located city of Burlington on Lake Champlain. This was thenceforth their home. For the first eight years they lived in the city, and after that at Rock Point, about two and one-half miles north from the City Hall.

Bishop Hopkins at once started a day and boarding school for boys in Burlington, calling it "The Vermont Episcopal Institute." It was so successful that he soon erected three houses, one of which is still standing and occupied. He borrowed money confidently for the purpose, since his school enrolled some eighty boys.

John Henry, Junior, at the age of fourteen, was continuing his early precocity, for he was not only a tutor at that age in Latin and Greek, but he also took his trick at the flogging. And he played flute and bugle in the school orchestra, took charge of boating excursions on Lake Champlain, taught in the Sunday School of St. Paul's Church (the local parish), and sang in its choir.

In September, 1835, aged fifteen years, John Henry, Junior, entered the University of Vermont, at Burlington, graduating with honors in the class of 1839. He was then nineteen, and he gave the commencement oration. Henry Clay was in the audience, to the youngster's great delight. Six years later he electrified and mystified the solemn congregational ministers of his Alma Mater's faculty by writing, as his "Master's Degree" thesis, a lengthy dissertation of thirty-six quarto pages on "The Theories Respecting the Site of the Terrestrial Paradise," giving long quotations in Greek and Latin

from Sts. Irenaeus, Athanasius, Philo the Jew, St. Basil, Epiphanius, as well as from Hårdouin's Collection of Councils, Sts. Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, Bernard and Jerome, and not omitting Gerophius Becanus, whom he described as "that puffed-up Dutchman who held that Adam spoke Dutch," and including the Venerable Bede, Salmasius, Cellorinus, and St. Chrysostom, winding up with Tostatus, Thomas Aquinas and many others. He was then twenty-five years old.

He was awarded his degree!

He had already begun the systematic study of harmony and counterpoint in music, and his book of "Carols, Hymns and Songs," while not as voluminous as the hundreds of hymns and other pieces of music composed by his father, was yet more scholarly and effective. His "We Three Kings" has been sung at Christmastide throughout the English-speaking world for fifty years, and has been attributed to Palestrina and other worthies. His "Little Doves" have delighted myriads of school children far and near, for several decades.

His beautiful gift of poetry began to manifest itself even in his childhood. He published in 1883 a book of "Poems by the Wayside," which has preserved over one hundred sonnets, hymns, songs, epigrams and longer poems, all sparkling with the choicest diction and brimming with sentiment, wit, reverence and pathos. Perhaps one of his most daring deeds in this line was his "Hymn on the Passion." He wrote it when he was the exact age of John Milton when the latter wrote his famous "Ode on the Nativity." The "Hymn on the Passion" is cast in the exact mould used by Milton in the Christmas ode following the same prosody in the four stanzas of the Introduction, and in the twenty-seven stanzas of the Hymn. And the loftiest language in both poems reached parallels in expression.

He also mastered the classics, as well as French and German, and was always an omniverous reader from his early boyhood.

The dreadful Calhoun panic of 1837 (sometimes miscalled the Andrew Jackson panic), when half the property in the United States changed hands, ruined Bishop Hopkins' school and finances and flung the Bishop and his family into nearly twenty years of biting poverty and cramped resources.

After a year of great discomfort and real hardship, following the foreclosure of the debt-ridden school property, during which twelve months the group of a dozen or more souls were crowded into an old house so dilapidated that they were its last occupants, Rock Point became the family's home. This uncultivated wilderness, one hundred and twenty-five acres of mainly hemlock, pine, cedar and swamp land was partly cleared by the Bishop's sons, a house was built from

his plans, the boys doing all the work, and walking two and one-half miles from Burlington at the beginning and end of each long day. The boys cleared the land, blasted the stone for the foundations, laid the bricks, ground and applied the paint, glazed the windows, and finished the job. The wonderful view of Lake Champlain and the Green and Adirondack Mountains, seen from this woodland home, so fascinated John Henry, Junior, when he first beheld it while browsing one day for pea-rods for the family's Burlington garden, that he never ceased battering away at the plan until friends helped the poverty-stricken Bishop to buy the place. It now belongs to the Diocese of Vermont, and realtors have guessed that one million dollars would not replace it anywhere, with its romantic views and its bewildering beauty.

The subsequent years of the family's life at Rock Point read like chapters from "The Swiss Family Robinson." John Henry, Junior, and his brothers Caspar and Theodore worked the farm. One by one the oldest brother prepared the younger ones for college; and they all went to the University of Vermont straight from John Henry's tutoring, earning much, if not all, of their slender expenses throughout their course.

Theodore, for instance, would walk six miles each day to Shelburne, Vermont, and would tune a piano for fifty cents, which would keep him in bread and water for weeks, while he pursued his college studies. The Bishop never allowed his children to waste any time on games, except on chess. They devoted all their time when not at work on the farm to literature, music, art, and to their studies. They were never allowed to learn how to skate, but were permitted to learn how to swim, for thus they might some time save a life. Lake Champlain, with one of its fairest bays and finest beaches, smiled at them from the foot of the hill.

When John Henry was twenty-three he was attacked by some throat trouble, which became so serious that a change of climate was demanded. The next two years found him accordingly in Savannah, Georgia, where he was the private secretary of the Bishop of Georgia, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Stephen Elliot, in whose home he lived, and whose son he also tutored. His cash salary was \$1,000.00 a year. He lived on \$200.00 and sent \$800.00 to his father each year.

His social charm, ready pencil, musical and artistic gifts, his keen and kindly humor and brilliant mind won him admiring friends on all sides.

After two years he went to New York City, which was his home for many subsequent years. At first he worked as a reporter for the "New York Courier and Engineer." He painted little gems of

miniature portraits on ivory, wrote book reviews, articles and songs for magazines, lived very frugally and sent every available dollar to his revered father. He was always most generous, never attempting to save any money, giving most of his salary away, through his entire life. He was a friend of Edgar Allan Poe, and even cared for this unhappy and gifted genius when the latter was in his cups and sorely needed assistance.

His throat had improved so that at last his unchanged longing for the ministry could be gratified, and in 1847 he entered the General Theological Seminary. He supported himself during his course, living a really ascetic life, loving, serene, joyous and cheerful, often sleeping on a plank covered with a blanket, his food at times being inch-thick unleavened crackers, harder than hard-tack, and loosened up with cold water.

The entire night before his ordination to the Diaconate he spent alone in Trinity Church, New York, keeping vigil, with prayer and self-examination, a single candle being his only light. He was ordained on June 30, 1850, in Trinity Church, by Bishop Whittingham. He was thirty years of age.

His plans were clear. He wanted to be a church journalist, and to have his own paper. Nearly three years of the hardest kind of hard work then followed, as he went about trying to organize this enterprise. His difficulties were enormous. He was buffeted and laughed at. He toiled unceasingly, however. Though at one time, as the three years were closing, he became so discouraged that he actually went one day to the door of the Bishop's house, resolved to give it all up, to apply for Priest's Orders, and to go to California as a missionary. The '49 "gold rush" had been on for only four years at the time. On the doorstep of the Bishop's house he suddenly turned back, resumed his struggle for the paper, and on February 1, 1853, the first edition of "The Church Journal" appeared.

He proved to be a born journalist. His weekly at once leaped into success. Three other able clergymen became his associates, viz., the Rev. Drs. Howland, Hobart, and Milo Mahan. The "Church Journal" at once welcomed and sponsored the Oxford Movement and stood stoutly by its Catholic principles. It ceaselessly attacked with trenchant wit not only the Low Church party, but the "High and Dry" party as well. It stood for free churches and for fairness everywhere, even assailing the New York Diocesan Convention for not being fair at one time to the Low Church element in the Diocese. It even pointed its spear at Trinity Parish, insisting that Trinity should use more of its immense income for the good of the Church throughout the entire city. It stood for small dioceses, and increased

Episcopal supervision. During and after the War Between the States it co-operated strongly with Presiding Bishop Hopkins, the father of the editor, in preventing a split between the Southern and the Northern Bishops and their Dioceses.

Of course its leading editor was fiercely opposed on many issues, and the paper aroused vivid controversies. At one time Bishop Horatio Potter of New York ceased to use it as an organ of communication with his Diocese. These discussions made no difference to the management, and "The Church Journal" continued to grow in circulation and in influence. John Henry, Junior, was indefatigable when once his convictions were enlisted in pushing a reform. Careless of the widespread hostility among the Bishops which was aroused by his crusades for smaller dioceses, he bludgeoned away, year after year, raising money, corresponding voluminously with leading clergy and laity, addressing Diocesan Conventions when possible, filling reams of columns in the "Journal" with the arguments, the historic parallels and other data, until finally New York was divided, Pennsylvania divided, and some suggestions approximating a Provincial System were adumbrated in the unwilling but growing Church.

It is not the province of this brief sketch to comment on the far-reaching wisdom of this zeal for small dioceses and many Bishops. Today, consolidation is in the air, but in 1868 there were no visions of automobiles, telephones, and airplanes, or even of the modern era of hard-surfaced roads. When, therefore, on May 25th, 1883, John Henry, Junior, wrote to his mother at midnight that "the day had been one of the most wonderful in his life," it was because he had been corresponding for months with clergy and laymen in the four Dioceses of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky, and that division was at hand by convention voting in all four.

That such successes were accompanied, as has been said, by the deep-rooted disapproval of many Bishops, goes without saying. This unpopularity dripped so persistently from so many Episcopal thrones that it became widespread among the powers that were. It kept him out of the General Convention for many years, though he always attended the sessions as a visitor, and probably had more to do with influencing the trend of legislation than the discussions of many of the "regular speakers," at least in the House of Deputies. Finally, as is stated below, at the age of 66, just before his life as a parish priest closed, he was elected to just one General Convention. It was the historic meeting held at Chicago in 1886. His ready wit, unfailing good humor, wide knowledge and brilliant speeches made him a conspicuous member of that important gathering.

He saw through the speciousness and compromising weakness of

the famous Quadrilateral which was at last adopted by that Convention, and later by those lovers of compromise, the Bishops at Lambeth, and he brought in a minority report as a member of the committee which presented this plan to the Lower House. Of course he was strong for unity, but not on the shifty and ineffective basis of the Quadrilateral. He had a substitute which was signed later by a good many deputies, but could not swing enough votes to pass the House. Since no one has ever accused the Quadrilateral of having accomplished anything to speak of in the way of unity during the nearly half-century of its existence, it may be of interest to outline this minority report.

First, noting that no branch of the Catholic Church has ever adopted any formal heresy in its Eucharistic Office, he proposed that the Eighth Article of the Church's Constitution then standing should be amended by adding the equivalent of the following: "This Church is willing to receive into union any Church using any Liturgy that has ever been used in any branch of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church." Also, "This Church is ready to receive into communion any congregations of Christians who will (a) accept the definition of the Faith as set forth by the undisputed General Councils, (b) have a ministry of Apostolic Succession given either conditionally or absolutely, (c) whose members will accept Confirmation at the hands of a Bishop, and (d) will pledge themselves to use only valid form and matter in the administration of the two great Sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Eucharist. This valid form in the Eucharist to be the recital of our Lord's words of Institution in the course of a prayer of Consecration offered to the Father, and the matter, bread, leavened or unleavened, and wine produced by the fermentation of grape-juice."

These principles Dr. Hopkins had advocated in sermons and writings for several years previous to this convention, but they were too clear and historic to be adopted by that variegated group. One of his sallies during the prolonged debate deserves preservation. An able deputy from Massachusetts rose one day to deprecate the action of so small a body as the Episcopal Church then was, in assuming the lead in so vast a matter as Christian Unity. The Church then enrolled but 418,000 communicants and 3,850 clergy. Immediately Dr. Hopkins set the deputies in a roar by rising to remark, "Mr. Speaker, I would beg to remind the distinguished deputy from Massachusetts that the hub is a small but very essential part of the wheel."

Dr. Hopkins' versatility was something unusual, and in using all of his many gifts he strove for and achieved high ideals. In music

he was well endowed. His "Carols, Hymns and Songs," mentioned above, were too far ahead of his day to be popular, except in the two instances already specified, though for some recent years the words of one of his Easter Carols, "Roman Soldier," have been sung in Chicago by thousands of children at Easter rallies, to music more catchy than his but inferior in quality. His voice was not among his stronger gifts, and throat trouble bothered him for many years, yet he was a powerful preacher, and his infectious wit and friendliness made him an eagerly welcomed member of social and singing groups in and beyond his family connection.

He was a master of ecclesiastical art, from its rudiments and grammar to its higher literature. His designs for Pastoral Stuffs, Episcopal rings, Diocesan seals, Church silver, stained glass windows, and even needle-work on vestments and altar linens, were gems of symbolic artistry. His knowledge of architecture was large, and many plans did he draw for churches, large and small, as the years came and went. He partly supported himself in his earlier years, as has been said, by painting miniature portraits on ivory. Two of his most notable ecclesiastical designs were the very beautiful alms-bason sent by the General Convention of 1871 to the Church of England as a memorial of the visit of the Bishop of Lichfield to that Convention; and the remarkable monument to his father erected by the family in the private cemetery at Rock Point, near Burlington, Vermont. Every square inch of these designs is replete with appropriate symbolism. The Chalice and Paten at Trinity Chapel, New York, and also at Trinity Church, Princeton, New Jersey, were likewise among his finest designs.

While he never indulged in very elaborate ritual himself, he yet was a pioneer in introducing colored stoles; he caused to be made the first alb and chasuble made in our Episcopal Church. He made the first Pastoral Staff and designed the first correct Altar Plate used in the Church. He designed nearly a half-million dollars' worth of Altar Plates and Vessels during his lifetime. He defended with his inimitable wit and wide historical knowledge every cleric who was attacked by the Rome-phobia of Low Church predilections, and the columns of "The Church Journal" and of other Church periodicals of his day flashed with the brilliance of his arguments as he defended venturesome priests who were under fire for improving the ornaments of the sanctuary.

The limitations of his voice handicapped the delivery of his sermons at times, but the sermons themselves were rare models of intellectual power, clear-cut and scholarly language, astonishing learning, and always the deepest reverence for the deity of our Lord.

He wrote but few sermons, preferring almost from the beginning of his ministry to clothe the prepared outlines of his message with the rich verbiage spontaneously composed as he spoke.

In wielding his pen he joyously revelled in attacking the vulnerable points in Low Church armor. His rollicking humor in "The Decline and Fall of the Low Church Party" was solidly balanced by his encyclopedic historical data when he wrote that essay in the April and June numbers of "The Church and the World," in 1872. And his "Protestant's Bible Catechism," dashed off about the same time, is one of the most delicious pieces of good-humored sarcasm in our controversial literature. He took the famous and impossible dictum, "The Bible and the Bible Only is the Religion of Protestants," and then took the most obnoxious features of Ritualism, including candles and incense, and catechetically drubbed his hapless Protestant opponent with scores of Bible verses approving of them all, one by one.

So his busy life went on, and "The Church Journal" wended its eager way through those formative years of our Church's life. Nearly everything he battled for has since become a matter of course in our polity and use. Catholic doctrine, Catholic worship, small dioceses, the large liberty within the Church which holds together in working unity three widely differing types of faith and worship; free Churches, the evangelization of middle class people as well as work among the submerged tenth; missionary enterprise and devotion; for all of these and many more he struggled, wrote, preached, managed and pleaded, usually in the face of determined and powerful opposition. The sequels have proved the deep wisdom of his vision, and the succeeding generations have reaped the rich rewards of his courage. He loved the Church with all the intensity of his nature. Nothing in the way of discipline or effort was too hard for him to endure, if only his dreams of her promised truth, scope and beauty could be realized.

For some fifteen years he thus labored, through "The Church Journal," as its founder and chief editor. Then came a totally new experience. His venerable father, then Presiding Bishop, in 1867, went to the first Lambeth Conference and took along his first-born son as his Chaplain.

Few Americans have ever made a more keenly appreciative and enthusiastic trip to England and parts of France than did these two John Henry Hopkinses. Space limitation forbids special mention of any details, beyond the myriads of photographs of cathedrals and such like, which these two devotees of church architecture brought home, and the staggered amazement with which John Henry, Junior, beheld what the average English cathedral was doing at that time with the Holy Eucharist.

He met Dr. Pusey personally, and many others of the Oxford leaders. He dismissed the interior of St. Paul's Cathedral with a half-dozen lines, one of which says, "Found the interior more imposing than I had expected, but as soul-less as any Protestant could desire." He was especially impressed with finding Lord Nelson's tomb in St. Paul's, "inside the chancel, with a big lion."

He had by this time decided to write his father's biography, as the Bishop had earnestly wished him so to do, and then to devote the rest of his life to parish work.

This first resolve was notable, and has bequeathed to the Church not only a masterly and striking biography, but also a historical picture of supreme value, describing the early life of the American Episcopal Church. The book is now out of print, but is widely cherished as a standard.

The second resolve, as his ablest friends have usually agreed, was largely a mistake. John Henry Hopkins, Jr., was a born journalist. His "Church Journal" was by far the most influential sheet in the Church when he sold it. He should never have relinquished his editorship, and the leverage which he had toilsomely built up for himself through its agency.

In parish work, despite his brilliant preaching and unconditioned pastoral devotion, he was not pre-eminent. One may feel that he sacrificed a large area of influence for the remainder of his earthly career, when filial duty assigned to him the writing of this biography. And filial devotion was a lofty ideal in Bishop Hopkins' family.

Accordingly, in 1868, "the greatest journalist this Church has ever produced"—so writes a competent critic—sold "The Church Journal," which, according to the same critic, "was the most influential factor, outside the work of Bishop White, that the American Episcopal Church has ever known."

He had remained a Deacon during all these eighteen years, and a Deacon he remained until his father's biography was completed. It took four years of hard work. During those four years, from 1868 to 1872, he lived at the family homestead at Rock Point, which he had helped to build, and on Sundays he was missionary in charge of the congregations at Vergennes, Vermont, and later at Essex, New York, just opposite Burlington, on Lake Champlain.

At Essex he brought into the Church the entire family of Dr. Ferguson, who became one of his closest friends. Twenty years afterwards, when Dr. Hopkins was stricken with his final illness, this devoted friend took the aged clergyman into his own home at Troy, New York, and nursed him for the final months. Three other homes were offered by kinsmen, but Dr. Ferguson could not bear to have

any other physician attend one who had done so much for him and his. John Henry Hopkins, Jr., never married, and thus was homeless, after resigning his parish life and work.

In 1872, after finishing Bishop Hopkins' biography, he was elected Rector of Trinity Church, Plattsburgh, New York, at this writing a parish of three hundred communicants. On June 23rd of that year he was accordingly advanced to the Priesthood, at the age of fifty-two. He believed stoutly in the Diaconate as an Order, and not as merely a stepping-stone.

As a parish priest he grasped firmly the truth that there is no such thing as drudgery in the name of the Lord. He gave as thorough attention to the smallest details, to the rounds of parish visiting, especially to the sick, as he had been accustomed to give to important editorials in "The Church Journal," or to correspondence with Bishops and bank presidents, judges and senior wardens about splitting up big dioceses and grouping them into ecclesiastical provinces.

The parish, of course, grew under his able preaching and loving pastoral care. After four years of this successful labor he was called to Christ Church, Williamsport, Pennsylvania, in what is now the Diocese of Harrisburg, a parish now numbering over thirteen hundred and fifty communicants, though at that time less than half of its present size.

Here he introduced the weekly Holy Eucharist, though his ritual was very moderate. He firmly defended, at all times, and in his editorials before his parochial work began, the rights of ritualistic clergy, but personally he did not indulge in these expressions of worship until his people wanted them. He believed and taught the full Catholic religion, but held that ceremonial should follow its acceptance, instead of preceding it.

In Williamsport he was as completely devoted in his pastoral work as he had been in Plattsburgh. He would drive for many miles over rough roads in the mountains to comfort some poor woman in need of counsel and prayer. He preached in isolated schoolhouses with such fervor that he was called a "Methodist." He would administer the Blessed Sacrament even at night to communicants who could not possibly receive in the morning hours. He searched for the sick, the forlorn, and the wretched. He braved the disappointments which even here were not uncommon.

In June, 1883, he wrote to his widowed mother: "I was defeated in our recent Diocesan Convention in two things which I greatly desired. The division of the Diocese was lost by one vote, and my election to the General Convention failed by the same vote." Ten

days later he wrote, "Tell my dear sister that I don't need any consolation. I am the most good-natured defeated man that ever was."

And to the Bishop who assisted heartily in both of these defeats he wrote: "Dear Bishop:—I have two characteristics:—I never lose my temper, and I never give up!" So of course the Diocese was subsequently divided, and, *mirabile dictu*, in 1886, John Henry Hopkins (then no longer Junior) was actually elected a deputy to the last General Convention of his lifetime! As said above, it met in Chicago, and he was one of its leading spirits.

Soon another serious disappointment fell upon him, and was met with the same smiling acceptance as its predecessors.

He was then 67 and his strength both of body and of eyesight had begun to weaken. In his eleven years at Christ Church, which began considerably later than the period at which clergymen traditionally cross the "dead line," more than eleven hundred souls had been baptized, and five hundred and forty-six had been confirmed. The Church had been beautified, two mission chapels and a parish house had been built from his designs, besides a new Church in a neighboring town.

The Alumni of the General Theological Seminary had nominated him by a large majority to the Seminary's chair of Evidences. He greatly desired the opportunity which this position would have given to him, and he was admirably qualified to fill such a chair, his attractiveness to young men being strong, and his intellectual equipment for such teaching being unusual. He had always been eager to help the Seminary, and in many ways, from his editorial office, he had been of distinct service to his spiritual Alma Mater. It would have been difficult to find a priest who was more thoroughly fitted for this Seminary chair than he was. Therefore, when he was nominated, he resigned his rectorship, in order to accept this very welcome opportunity.

A great "farewell" reception was given, with a purse of \$1,000, after which evening he sat up all night at work over his papers, and at 9:20 A. M. he took the train from Williamsport, to commence his new work in New York City.

But the Seminary trustees refused to accept the vote of the Alumni. The nomination was then repeated, and again the trustees refused to appoint the nominee. This sketch draws a veil over that refusal. Dr. Hopkins never referred to it personally.

He moved to New York City. He gave the first 500 books from his valuable library to the See House on La Fayette Place, in payment for the use of a room as his abiding place as long as he would need it. He smiled all the days, went to church as often as he could, frequently

at Trinity Chapel, made absolutely no comment on Seminary affairs. He preached his last sermon on Trinity Sunday, at the ordination of his nephew to the Diaconate, and then went to the home of his friend, Dr. Ferguson, to die from dropsy and kindred ailments, fourteen months later, aged seventy-one.

His body was interred by the side of his venerated father's, in the family cemetery at Rock Point, in the shadow of the beautiful monument which he himself had designed, facing the ravishing view of Lake Champlain and its surrounding mountains which had lured him and the family to Rock Point more than fifty years before.

"He always fought with his visor up, with no malice, no bitterness. He was a thinker who left his mark for all time on the Church of his Baptism; a Christian Knight, fallen with his armor on."

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL AND THE COLONIAL CHURCH IN AMERICA

THE CAROLINAS

By Sir Edward Midwinter, K.B.E.

THE CAROLINAS, North and South, were the scene of constant labour on the part of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel all through the eighteenth century. Fifty-four missionaries came, between 1702 and 1783, from headquarters in London to work among the white settlers, the Indians and the slaves of South Carolina; thirty-three, from 1708 onwards, to North Carolina. These men maintained with their superiors in England a correspondence frequent, informal, and for the most part lively, full of the freshness and raciness of first-hand experience. Both colonies were, of course, many decades old by the time the Society received its charter in 1701; life around Charlestown was already assuming the settled, prosperous aspect that was to characterize it for generations; but away from such sparse centres of town life the Province was at the beginning of the century thinly peopled, and North Carolina had a still smaller population. She could boast nothing to compare with the bustle and gaiety of Charlestown: her very capital was moved here and there to suit the pleasure of governors whose tenure of office was as precarious as their control of government was limited: even "this great city of Bath," wrote a discontented missionary, "consists of but eight cottages, and they likely to be soon deserted." In 1701 the two Provinces together contained only some twelve thousand settlers. Life for the missionary, therefore, was not likely to be a bed of roses: long journeys, hardships, fatigues, perils were his lot. The letters relating to these experiences were written while the thorn still pricked; while cold numbed their faculties or heat drained them of vitality; while hunger was a present spectre: they are more enthralling than many a tale of fictitious adventure, for they are a day to day record of events that men, perhaps your ancestors, perhaps mine, endured and rejoiced in here in Carolina two hundred years ago.*

**(The old form "Charlestown" is used throughout, to remain in keeping with the MSS.)*

It does indeed thrill me deeply to find myself here in the land hitherto unknown in fact but known intimately in imagination to those of us who, in London, have for months past been working among the American Archives of the S. P. G. There, in a cellar nineteen feet by twelve, in the center of Westminster, are to be found twenty-five bulky volumes of manuscripts, roughly bound in red covers, which contain five or six thousand letters and documents received by the Society from its various correspondents in the American colonies before 1783 came to interrupt that happy co-operation. Volume Number 4 of this series is labelled "North and South Carolina, 1715-1759"; Volume Number 5, "North and South Carolina, 1756-1781." Other letters of Carolinian origin are scattered through the remaining volumes. Let us turn the pages, taking thought to handle them with the reverent care due to frail, old papers. The eye is caught by names once familiar through the Provinces and still, it may be, held in honour in their former homes: Alex. Garden of St. Phillip's, Charlestown; Commissary Gideon Johnston of Charlestown, who met his death by drowning on the very sandbank in the harbour on which he was nearly lost at his first entering of the country twenty years before; Dr. Francis Le Jau of Goose Creek, notable for his work among the negro slaves; wise James Reed of Newbern; John Macdowell of Brunswick, on whom gathered misfortune after misfortune; Alex. Stewart of Bath; the exuberant Samuel Fayerweather, who delighted so ingenuously in his rare visits to town; John Urmston, who, whatever might be laid to his charge, had braved the terrors of Russia to work among the traders of Moscow and Archangel, had served for five months on the "Bedford Galley," and ended his adventures by being burned to death in 1732 in North Carolina. These names are taken at random; other vital personalities emerge from the creased, worn pages, which were written without conscious art or any thought of posterity. After years of almost uninterrupted slumber on the shelves, kept warm by a growing coat of London grime, these two dozen treasures, these storehouses of Colonial history, are now receiving attention and study. It is obvious that they can be studied from many angles. Whether from the point of view of the creation and development of Colonial churches, or of the enterprise and struggle of individuals in pioneering days, or of the extension of the British Empire, their interest is supreme. In their present unprotected state, the manuscripts are hardly ready for critical historical analysis. Such a survey, scholarly and analytical, I do not propose to attempt today, even did I, an Englishman, presume to talk local American history to American cousins on their own ground! My aim is to persuade you to follow me through the ad-

ventures of the many humble men who for a variety of reasons were led to offer themselves as agents of the Society's single-minded enterprise; in short, to learn from these original contemporary records what manner of daily life faced a missionary in eighteenth-century America.

The first steps in England often presented great difficulties. Testimonials had to be sought by the would-be missionary, an interview with the Society procured; were the candidate so far successful, there remained a sermon to be preached to the assembled committee before final approval was won. Only a proportion of candidates reached this goal. To very many poverty was a crippling obstacle. Money was often lacking to bring them to London, let alone to defray the expenses of lodging there while their affairs went slowly forward with a procrastination that must have been heartbreaking to the individual, however necessary in the interests of the Society. This was especially the case with candidates from the Colonies. Several of the Colonists themselves were ready and anxious to take up the work, despite the hardships involved in the hazardous voyage to England to obtain ordination. A shining example of enthusiastic determination which triumphed over extremes of poverty and distress was provided by Edward Jones, who came from North Carolina in 1769 to seek Holy Orders.

After a more tedious Confinement on Sea than I expected, I arriv'd at Liverpool (for the Want of a Ship bound to any other Port of England) where I was taken Ill, & lay two Months in the most dangerous Situation, of the Dysentery, so that my Board together with the Doctors Bill exhausted me of that Little I expected to live upon during the Time I shou'd be oblig'd to tarry in London, Which the Revd. Geo. Macklejohn inform'd me wou'd not exceed two Months at longest: So soon, as I was capable of walking about I left Liverpool to come here on Foot but being unaccustom'd to walk farr at a Time my Feet bled and were extremely sore so that I could not walk more than 10 Miles per Day, I being without Money I sold my Cloathes for less than quarter Value to travel upon, & for the 4 last Days of my journey I liv'd upon a Penny a Day.

Arrived in this fashion in London, Edward Jones found to his intense chagrin that the recommendations he carried from Governor Tryon and from the Vestry at Orange to the Bishop of London at Fulham were of little use, for the Bishop declared that were he to ordain Jones on those papers alone, he would become liable for his maintenance.

What to do, (he continued), in this deplorable Situation I cou'd not tell, here I was farr from my native Country, destitute of Friends, Relations, Money and Employment, to support me. the Devil that great Foe to Men & who is unwearied in his Attempt to ruin their precious, immortal Souls was not neglectful of making use of this Opportunity. and I am greatly apprehensive wou'd have accomplish'd his End, by causing me to be guilty of that fearful crying Sin Suicide, had I not luckily heard of Miss —— Tryon and of Captain Collett who immediately relieved me in that despondent, despicable and indigent Situation. . . . I have sold all in North Carolina & resig'd my Place there, as my motive to enter into ecclesiastical Orders was not worldly Lucre. . . . I have ventured my Life, come into a strange Country, and suffer'd almost beyond Conception.

Later in the year, Mr. Jones was ordained by the Bishop and returned to take charge of the parish of St. Stephen, Johnston County. But his tenure there was short: we have no record of his subsequent career.

It might be thought that with the Bishop's license in his pocket and with a parish anxiously awaiting him across the Atlantic, the way was now fairly simple. Far from it; difficulties bristled on every side. Our emigrant had at last transported himself to Portsmouth or Plymouth; he might be a single man, but more often accompanied by wife, small children, a servant-maid perhaps, and all his worldly possessions. Weeks might pass before a ship was found willing to take passengers on board; disobliging captains might have to be placated; many more weeks (as many as ten in one case) endured with diminishing resources waiting for the wind that no money could buy; the £50 allowed for traveling costs vanished into the pockets of lodging-keepers or of the hosts of indifferent inns. It was often the case, therefore, that when at last the voyage was begun, the missionary was left to face the new world in a literally penniless condition.

These distresses presented themselves in a particularly acute form to Charles Boschi. This man was formerly a "Franciscan Fryer"; having entered the Church of England, he was accepted by the Society for service in America, and in 1744 found himself at Portsmouth four days before Christmas, waiting for a passage. He was bidden to report to the "Aldborough," man-of-war.

I delivered your Letter to Captain Ashby Ulling. He answered that it was impossible for me and my family to be accomodated in the ship because he had several Passengers, & if occasion required he would make the same answer to ye Admiralty. Upon this Hearing my heart began almost to

Bleed of concern, But I beg'd earnestly to the capt. to accomodate me and my family one way or another, and explained to him of the great expence I made from London to Portsmouth, I told him That I had a Feather Bed with me & that we may spread it upon some of ye Dacks (sic), he answered that it would not be proper by all means to do such thing where there is so many People & Passengers, Finding then so much difficulty about my Passage I did not know what to do, but at last I told to the capt. that I would give 10 Guineas if any of his men would give me his cabine rather than to miss ye opportunity, he answered that he could not oblige any of his Men to give me their cabine, & that he had asked before for some other Passangers and that they deny'd him, but if I would go aboard with him & to aske to some, that I am very well come, so I went & Lookely one of the Men gave me his cabine which it is very small & I am sure we cannot contain all in it: However I reccomend myself from the Bottome of my heart to the Almighty God to be our Guide & to send us safe and in Health to our expected Port, for I find our accomodation in ye ship to be very difficult. . . .

Boschi declares that the expenses he had met with in coming from London amounted to the "almost incredible" sum of £4.17s. 0.; he had great difficulty in Portsmouth in procuring even one bed, and for that had to pay half a crown every night. Captain Ulling told him that if there were an engagement at sea on the voyage his baggage would be "incumbersome," so that he was forced to pay £5.10s. 0. to have it taken in another ship by Capt. Liddle, who was also bound for Charlestown.

As we read the record of that journey with sympathy and wonder, we are bound to hope that Mrs. Boschi and her children fully shared the enthusiasm of the persevering missionary, or it must have been a wretched time indeed. On March 26th, 1745, they arrived at Charlestown

very much fatigued & laboured after 3 month voyage, & in this tedious passage we were obliged to drink stinking water for two month. My family & I, had greater hardship than this, for we had but only one, small cabine for to contain us all, & was only fit to contain in it only one man, & we were five in family & being inclosed in such small circumference we were uneasy night and day, but particularly when we came in hot climate at sea by the variation of the wind. . . . Captain Hutton told me that I would put in danger to loose some of my children by saying that the veaves of the sea in foul weather would coming through the scuttle of ye cabine, & that we would from time to time to be all wait (wet) as in effect it came to passe very often,

& by this transaction all our linen was rotten by the salt water. But having not such opportunity that time nor money enough for to pay the passage for all my family to go with a merchant ship I resolved to depart with the man of war for life & death for to shew my sincerity. In this passage we had divine service when the weather permitted, & buried 11 seamen.

The trials of the Boschi were much increased through their being on board a man-of-war; but the hardships of a passage on a merchant ship were sufficiently severe. What can't be cured must be endured; the perils of travel were accepted as part of the normal scheme so that references to them in these letters are surprisingly brief. "A long and fatigueing Voyage of above 4 months"; "a very tedious passage of 3 months"; "a tedious passage of 11 weeks and 2 dats"; "*nous restames sept mois au mer ou nous avons souffert toute sorte d'infirmities*"—these phrases cover much. Hazards of war were no slight menace; the Rev. Michael Smith, for instance, was "so unfortunate as to be taken in his passage by La Filon Privateer, which added greatly to his distress." The most constant perils of all, of course, were storm and shipwreck. In 1707 a missionary embarked for England, but the ship and all in her were never heard of again. As late as 1766, strong representations were sent to England of the difficulties in securing an adequate supply of clergymen, not because of a lack of candidates, but because not less than one out of five who went from the Northern Colonies to England for ordination lost their lives in the attempt.

By the mercy of Providence storms, enemies, disobliging captains, contrary winds, foul food and water, sickness at sea, confinement in overcrowded quarters, were at length overpast, with, it might be, family, feather-beds, and all the apparatus of domestic life, but with a pocket anxiously light, the missionary reached American shores. In many instances governor, clergy and parish received him with great delight. This was likely to be the case did he land at Charlestown, for here the progress of settlement by the middle of the century was such that parish organization was comparatively advanced; some of the clergy had the encouragement and help that came from meeting at reasonable intervals; any addition to their inadequate numbers was gladly welcomed; the newcomer might perhaps escape a station of extreme isolation and take up his work at a place where there was already some tradition of church life. But to the majority of the new arrivals the life that awaited them was essentially a pioneering life the first steps of which were hemmed about by difficulties never contemplated in England. This is the account of his experi-

ences sent home by the Rev. Michael Smith in 1760. It may be as well not to enquire too closely into the character of this gentleman; later episodes of his career reflect a dubious light upon him; besides, he was of Irish birth, though of course this is anything but dubious recommendation. However biased his views, he brings vividly to life small incidents that might well have been lost during succeeding years.

I was nominated for missionary of Prince Frederick Parish, South Carolina. . . . Mr. Harrison (who had been appointed to Goose Creek) had the good fortune to arrive some weeks before me: & had been recieved and assisted with a generosity that answered his most Sanguine Wishes . . . w^{ch} I dont mention as envying him, but for the sake of the contrast. When I landed at Charles Town (tho' my Lord of London had given me the day before I embarked 50£: yet that being paid for the passage of my family being 8 in number) I had but two Guineas. I had 70 miles to convey this large family to my destination (in vain did I remonstrate this to *Dr. Bearcroft before I sailed) & not being able to do it for want of money; was obliged to board my whole family at the expence of 5£ that currency being 15 shill^l ster. a day: till I could apply to my parish. After 32 days they sent a horse and chair to convey my self and wife; but as for the rest of the family, they gave themselves no trouble about them. These however I conveyed by water; and giving my bond for the board of my family, went to my parish. When I got there I had nothing to subsist upon; nor was there a single person who gave me the least assistance. I applied to the Church Wardens to procure me some money to purchase provisions: w^{ch} they borrowed to the amount of 30£ ster. for w^{ch} also I was obliged to give my bond. Those who were of the Church of England (w^{ch} did exceed 12 familys in the parish) recieved me in a very affectionate manner: but courtesy was all they could give. In six months after I was settled my wife fell sick, & after lingering 2 months under ye Doct^{rs} hands, died. My children fell sick next, one whereof followed the Mother; two servants that I brought with me shared the same fate. It pleased God however to give me & the rest of ye children strength to get over the Seasoning: but the Six months Salary was consumed in the Sickness; & the Doct^{rs} Bills amounted to 428£ upwards of 60 pounds ster. On the contrary Mr. Harrison told me he was plentifully supplied with fresh meat Wine mony & every necessary during his sickness; was attended by the Ablest Physicians in Charles Town, & his Doct^{rs} Bill paid and delivered to him with a rect^t at the bottom. . . . I was left with a parcel of young Children which I could not take Care of

*Secretary of the S. P. G.

. . . my health declining fast, being afflicted with a periodical nervous fever w^{ch} attack'd me every six weeks. . . .

We will abandon the two further pages of delicate, close writing with their tale of more trial and tribulation to note that Charles Boschi also had to contend with difficulties. His parishioners in St. Bartholomew's Parish received him with friendliness; but he came to a house where there was not a stool to sit upon, not a nail in the walls, nor any place to keep the precious library of books with which the Society had furnished the parish. As for the glebe, it was "a dismall true wilderness"; you would not have thought it cultivated for the last twenty years. Boschi was obliged

with great pains, troubles and expenses to clean, & clear only a little spot of ground for the conveniency of my family, for in the whole Parish there is no Market, & in witness of this it came to passe that my family & I, had not a bitt to eat for some days, but God be thanked I made some sort of provision for the time to come that I hope we wont be in such extream necessity.

Similar hardships afflicted William Orr, who in 1745 was the minister of St. Paul's Parish, S. Carolina.

The Parish (some time after I came to it) hired a poor ordinary House (an old wooden Barn converted into a Parsonage-house 9 miles distant from the Parish-Church and Glebe, and 6 miles from the Chapel) with some worn-out Land: indeed both house and Land are the worst and poorest in the Parish, and that is the reason I have the enjoyment of one and t'other: because none of the Parishioners besides my self would live in this Place: There is not one Pane of Glass in the whole House; nor any sort of Plaster: nor Whitewash: and when it rains hard, as it often does in this Country, I am obliged to put all my Books &c into Chests and Trunks to save them from being ruined by Wet: and how very inconvenient that must be to a Person fixed upon his Studies, any one may easily judge.

That same year James Moir in North Carolina was lodging in the garret of a little house, the lower story of which served as a chapel on Sundays, a school-room during the week; his slave cooked for himself in the open air while the master was obliged, so he declared, to shift from place to place for a dinner or a supper, frequenting taverns or public houses of entertainment which

I think the very worst upon the Face of the Earth in more Respects than one. And what is still more provoking,

they wonder that being thus situated, I do not fancy myself in Paradise sometimes.

Other people, however, considered that Moir lived "penuriously and unhospitably," and his lack of decent attire scandalized those who were not over-particular in such matters. A missionary of another sort, notable Francis Le Jau, whose name was above all suspicion, met with difficulties of the same nature at Goose Creek:

Little or nothing is yet perfected about churches, glebes and houses; at least this is my case, I have neither house nor church finisht, nor no title to the most considerable part of my Land, viz. that where the house and church stand, nor no appearance to get anything done.

Those fortunate enough to possess a parsonage-house were faced by two problems: the heavy cost of repairs, and the free entertainment expected by itinerants on the road. Mr. Ponderous, on Santee River, found himself put to large expense through being situated in a place where he "must dayly have Strangers att my table there being no Tavernes nor Ens in this Parish." William Orr, in the parish of St. Paul, likewise found it a tax on his resources to live near "a great road much frequented," for travelers called at the house,

some of whom will not hesitate to call me and my Family out of Bed in the middle of the Night to accomodate them: which if a Clergyman refuses to do, tho' he be put poorly provided himself, 'twould be the great Crime and Reproach in the World; many people imagining, he ought to keep open House.

Circumstances repeat themselves! Exactly the same complaint was received by the Society a hundred years later from a settler in Australia whose farm lay on the high road: travelers came and went along that road the seventy miles to a small town destined in the following century to become famous the world over as the goal of an air race in which 11,000 miles were covered in little over three days.

The S. P. G. missionary suffered because he was the representative of a Church whose claims to state establishment met with uncompromising hostility from a large proportion of settlers; but even where a real desire to further his interests prevailed, as they did prevail keenly among a section of the Colonists, the people were almost powerless to help. To win a living for themselves was a hard enough business, and money was often extremely scarce. It is interesting to note in passing the contract prices for the building of a new church in St. John's Parish, South Carolina, in 1761:

(It) is 60 feet long & 40 wide the Foundation is 3 Bricks broad & the Walls are to be 2 bricks & a half: the Carpenter is to have £150 Sterl. for his part of the Work: w^t the Bricklayer's acc^t will amount to, I cannot tell; we have agreed to give him 8/6 sterl. for every thousand Bricks he shall lay.

Here we are led to consider the financial aspect of life in the colonies as it presented itself to the eighteenth century missionary. A dark enough picture is drawn in these old letters of widespread penury and distress. The trouble lay in causes far too deep for the control of individuals or of vestries. In the second decade of the century both the Carolinas were faced by a great crisis, brought about by war with the Indians. In 1711 a terrible massacre on the Neuse and Pamlico rivers, for which the Tuscarora Indians were mainly responsible, blighted the colony for years and might have blotted it out of existence altogether had not South Carolina come promptly to the rescue with troops under Colonel Barnwell. The war came virtually to an end in 1713, though sporadic forays continued. Meanwhile the roles were soon reversed; in 1715 South Carolina was put to great straits by an onslaught from the Yamasee Indians, and North Carolina was able to repay her debt by sending what forces she could to the southern Province.

Vivid accounts of these wars can be found among the MSS. of the S. P. G. In 1717 the Vestry of St. Thomas' parish, Bath County, N. C., sent through Chief Justice Christopher Gale of that Province an urgent appeal for help to the Society.

At present this is our unhappy circumstances as well as of the other parishes in Bath County w^{ch} have been extremely reduced by the late Indian warr In w^{ch} many scores of unbaptised Infants (who remained so for want of Opportunity only) were barbarously Murder^d; but seeing that war is now Terminated & our Country very likely to Flourish again in all other respects Except the only necessary viz^t That of religion, Wee therefore humbly beg Yr Hon^{ble} Society will consider our present Deplorable State & allot Some good Devine of Exemplary Life and Conversation tho' of less Learning. . . .

South Carolina provides a dozen and more letters written during the actual conflict, when the minds of the writers were full of agonizing uncertainty of what the next day would bring forth. We might turn first to the comprehensive summary sent by Gideon Johnston from the safety of Charlestown in January, 1715.

Mr. Bull's house was burn'd by the Enemy, and all that was in it, lost. Mr. Maule . . . has been a great sufferer by sickness and by the war; and tho he was often in the midst of danger, yet he never quitted his Parish. His house was more than once converted into a Garrison. Mr. Hasell's and Mr. Richbours' homes were from the beginning, and still are garrisons, by which means, not to say anything of that uncomfortable way of life, their orchards, gardens and outhouses were destroy'd, and where everything must be suppos'd to be in common in such places, it is natural to believe, that great losses must be sustained within doors as well as without, and that the poor Clergy must be at uncommon Expenses on this unhappy occasion. Mr. Jones was forced to leave his house, as many of his Parishioners did theirs, and till of late lived in the Town almost since the beginning of the war: upon which account, he was a Considerable Loser, being obliged to run in debt for the support of his family. His house was a place of refuge for his Parishioners for 3 Weeks (105 in number) which must be a vast charge to him, besides the loss of his horse. Mr. Guy was in as bad circumstances, if not worse, having lost all, but his clothes & books; his Parish being the first, that felt the Enemies fury.

Refugees in Charlestown were put to great straits to exist in so crowded and dear a place as it then was: the inhabitants were naturally enough unwilling to give credit in such times of distress and danger, not knowing when they themselves or their creditors might be forced away, should the war continue, to "seek bread, if death did not prevent them."

The individual missionaries sent home accounts that corroborated and amplified Gideon Johnston's letter. Tredwell Bull described how

a Party of ye Enemy of about 500 made an Incursion ye Latter end of July into my Parish of St. Paul & burnt & destroy'd about 20 Plantations therein, & amongst y^m Ye Parsonage House wth all Ye Outhouses, except a small out-kitchen, ye Greater part of my Household Goods, Provisions & Crops to ye Value of 200 lb., not including ye loss of ye Buildings.

He remained in his parish until his congregation dwindled to five persons; the men being in the army, the women fled to Charlestown. Then he too was forced to take shelter there. Thomas Hasell, who gave details of the numbers and composition of the forces under arms, lost sixty or seventy of his parishioners to the army; he, and other missionaries, had to hold services not in the parish church but in the

little garrisons to which the inhabitants, apprehensive of danger, had retired. William Guy, who had only recently been stationed in St. Helen's parish, made a last-minute escape.

My parish was ye first y^t suffered, and I very miraculously escap'd their Cruelty, being forc'd to venture out to sea in a very small Canoe, wth one white man & three slaves, in w^{ch}, wth no small hazard I gott safe to Charlestown . . . my own parish being almost entirely ruin'd, & all the people fled from thence, except about a dozen or 15 men, who remain in a little fortification they have rais'd to watch ye motions of ye Indians by water.

Robert Maule, who worked for ten years in St. John's parish, was forced to retire

into a Garrison, whether (sic) most of my Parishioners had fled for safety. There I continued above four months Constantly Exercising the Duties of my Ministerial Function. I baptised their Children, Visited their Sick & wounded, Buried their Dead, Administered the Holy Sacrament, Preached every Lord's Day, & Read Prayers Twice every day in the week. The Duty, I must Confess, was almost above my Strength (being Performed in a numerous Crowd, that were Pen'd up in a small Compass, & in the worst Extremity of the Hot-weather) . . .

By the end of 1715 the outbreak was virtually quelled, and the missionaries, like other people, began to return to their homes. Months of bitter experience were to teach them that the hard times were in front, not behind them. War was a costly business—a fact which mankind prefers to consider after the event—this war saddled both Provinces with debts which could only be met by the emission of paper money. Real estate as well as the poll came within the operation of financial laws. A state of emergency persisted so long and so severely that fresh issues of bills of currency were found necessary over a long period of years. There had always been great scarcity of coin, so much so that in North Carolina certain articles of commerce, such as tobacco, were recognized as legal tender. Conditions for all classes of settlers became steadily more distressful; and the clergy, who depended for the greater proportion of their salary on the ability of the parishioners to contribute to it, were among the worst sufferers. When the vestry of Pasquotank Precinct, North Carolina, asked for a missionary in 1717, they felt bound to inform the Society that there was “no running Cash but that to supply that defect, all our Commodities are rated and answer the same end.” The year before, Mr. Urmston had drawn a pitiful picture of his cir-

cumstances. He owed the servant-maid, brought from England, four years' wages; one slave had lately died for lack of warmth;

I've not enough to keep me with bread six months, no beef, butter nor cheese, no fat to butter our Hominy, nor make soap, no tallow to make me a few candles, So y^t we shall have a tedious winter, long dark nights, hungry bellies and dirty linnen.

In his opinion

it ought to be specified y^t the Ministers salary be paid in ye staple Comodities of ye Countrey viz: Corn wheat, Beef, Pork, and Pitch, at his dwelling house, for 'tis not worth his labour to collect it.

Exactly the same conditions repeated themselves after the war in the Southern Province. Dr. Le Jau wrote from Goose Creek in 1717:

I have cruelly suffered by Sickness & want ; my family has no cloathes these 2 years, & I lost 2 young slaves that dyed, and a third is a-dying I fear, and I am above 200 lb. in debt for bare necessaryes & we live very hard upon Indian corn we buy at 10^{sh} a bushell with little or no meat. . . . we pay 5 or 600 per cent for English goods, and the products of the country are sold in proportion . . . my payment is . . . in pieces of paper of no Intrinsick Value and built most of them without any fund. . . . How far they go, be pleased to Judge by this. a hat worth in London 5 or 6 sh. is 45 or 50 shills. an ounce of Silk worth 2 sh. is here 20 & 25. In my sickness I wanted a little Hungary water, a vial worth 6 or 8 pence sold for 15 shill.

From Tredwell Bull we learn that wheaten flour cost three pounds ten shillings a hundredweight, Indian corn fifteen shillings a bushel, men's shoes twenty-five shillings, and "worsted stockings, not extraordinary, thirty shillings a pair." It is not surprising that at this period the missionaries' letters were chiefly concerned with the double effect of these bad times; their own distressed straitened circumstances, and the "languishing state" of the Church owing to the large number of vacant parishes.

The vivid character of the letters received from the Carolinas at this period has led us a little away from the main thread of our enquiry—how life in America presented itself to the eighteenth century missionary; for the Indian War was only an interlude, though a terrible one. Most men were called on to face more ordinary hardships. These were severe enough. Over and over again we read of the difficulties caused by the enormous size of the parishes, where

roads were few and bad, the country often swampy, or intersected by huge rivers. A horse was an essential but very expensive part of a missionary's outfit, and sometimes a second horse and a guide. A man like John Urmston, who had constantly to travel by water, might need a boat; he had a canoe and two sails which he valued at seven pounds, and lost in a storm. Entries such as the following abound: "In the course of the year I ride near fourteen hundred miles to the outparts of my parish"—this was James Burnett of Brunswick: "I have been under necessity of riding for some months together upwards of 130 miles per week"—this from Edward Taylor, of Northampton County. William Orr covered nine hundred miles a year to perform the ordinary duties at church and chapel, besides twenty or thirty miles very frequently to baptize or visit the sick or bury the dead on their own plantations, a custom that could hardly be avoided in those wide parishes. "Long journeys and indifferent lodgings" were the unavoidable lot of the North Carolinian clergy. Sometimes no roof of any sort sheltered them. Francis Varnod made a journey "beyond the Settlements" of South Carolina when

the woods under the noble Canopy of Heaven was the place where I lay most nights, being supplied sufficiently with Deers & Tigers flesh & now & then with wild Turkeys: Being disturbed in the nights only by the Woolfs. (sic.)

Poor John Macdowell, whose personal history is a story in itself, found Brunswick as hard a parish as did Burnett a few years later.

It is impossible to give any adequate Idea of all the fatigues, hardships, Sickness &c I have gone through Since I have been here . . . our Chapels, or rather People's houses, where we are obliged to attend, are more than 30, some of them 40 miles distant from the Center of the Parish. And often we have to ride 15 or 20 miles without seeing a house to flee to for shelter from a Thunder-Shower which are very Severe and very frequent here in the Summer, and Other Inclemencies of the Weather which often shifts from one extreme to another.

Bath County was one of the hardest parishes to work, and severely taxed the strength of successive missionaries. Alexander Stewart laboured there for thirteen years; he wrote:

The Buisness of my Function exposes me to unavoidable hardships in this Eastern part of ye Country, my Parish is divided by a River five Miles over, I am obliged to serve one Sunday on ye south, and ye other on ye North Side, of this River, & ye variety of ye seasons here renders it very

difficult to Cross, & ye latter end of this Summer has been very tempestuous, by w^{ch} means I believe I have acquir'd ye Disorder I am now afflicted with, & being frequently in an open Boat for six hours together & wett ye most of ye time.

The experiences of Nicholas Christian were very similar; he found the roads

exceeding bad especially to Waccamau, there being upwards of twelve swamps to cross some of which are so deep that Horses are frequently up to the Saddle in crossing them.

He found more than thirty families in a remote wild place on the Waccamau river "near the green Swamp entirely out of the way of all society."

Even when arrived safely at their journey's end, things were not always too easy for them. The size of the congregation was uncertain; it might be a bare half-dozen, or so large that it had to assemble under "the Shady Trees." In remote spots the people might be so ignorant of the liturgy that the minister had to make all the responses himself and teach simple hymn tunes. He might find the church blown down by a hurricane, or so neglected that the churchyard was unpaled, and the graves "Exposed to the trampling of cattle, hogs & everything." At Ashepoo, South Carolina, Charles Boschi had to contend with a congregation whose behaviour was a commonplace in churches up and down England in that century.

It seems the best people there used to go through and fro continuously out of chapel, & made punch in time of sermon or Prayer, & they used to bring water in the chapel to give drink to the people in the time of worship . . . and the people are so delicate that they don't like that a clergyman should say anything against their faults.

Time fails to follow minutely other aspects of that Colonial life. There was, for instance, the question of salaries, an intricate, controversial matter. The widespread hostility to established religion made the lot of the clergyman in financial matters particularly thorny. In some cases the people were too poor to contribute, in some unwilling, being of opinion that the clergy ought to be kept depending, for it is better one man should depend upon a Parish than y^t a whole Parish should depend on one man. One missionary complained that the whole Precinct was hard put to it to raise him thirty pounds in five years; another, that he had the misfortune to be "sent backwards and forwards & played of" between church wardens and sheriff for twelve successive months, and even so had not received one shilling

for upwards of fourteen months; a third that if he had not had some small fortune with his wife he would have been obliged to quit the country. Guilbert Jones of Christchurch parish cut the knot by refusing to accept any payment—

my parishioners are generally poor having nothing but what they labour for themselves, Therefore I have always declined any contributions, least I should become chargeable to them, and by that means they think their Religion too dear, and consequently forsake it.

In truth, the housekeeping must have been kept exceedingly plain to make both ends meet. "Jovial living!" exclaimed Mr. Urmston bitterly, when his larder contained nothing but a barrel of salt pork eight months old—profitable food, as a little went a long way—and a few "peys and beans, but neither bacon nor butter to eat with 'em," One's thoughts turn to unrecorded history: that truest history of all because it is made up of the small daily acts, the trivialities of routine of all the humble, dependent, inarticulate people. How did the wives and children of these struggling missionaries fare? How much did they contribute to the making of the nation? Mrs. Michael Smith, who died, and her child with her, from the rigours of that first "seasoning" in St. Patrick's Parish, Johnston County; the English bond-servant-man who cost sixteen pounds and ran away ten days later; the servant-maid brought from England who received no wages for four years and went "almost naked" from penury; the negro slaves, who perished for sheer lack of warmth and food; above all, the children who were brought into the world to die in hundreds in infancy or early youth—"There have not many Children been born this Year, & most that were are already deceased," wrote Tredwell Bull in 1716; "Alas, my dear helpless Babe, all my concern is for him; God only knows what will become of me, or how long I may be alive, for my heart is almost broken," exclaimed John Macdowell at the end of his service (and his life) in Brunswick County—it is the thought of these that haunts the imagination, that makes the heart tender with pity and wonder. While we turn these ancient pages we must read between the lines and never forget the silent women and children, the servants and the slaves, whose share in the work was none the less because it was not put down on paper. Just once the silence is broken, this time to raise laughter rather than tears, and we obtain a glimpse of one of these pioneering wives. Her husband was one of the schoolmasters whom the Society has sent out to all parts of the world. The work of these men in the American colonies deserves a chapter to itself. As a rule they were not in Holy Orders, but this

particular schoolmaster was the Rev. Thomas Morritt; he was master of the Free School in Charlestown in 1726 and had the misfortune to find that the "People have no better notion of a schoolmaster than a Cobbler in this Place . . . every impertinent Boy thinks himself my equal which encouraged my late Usher to fly in my Face." Circumstances were hardly kinder to Mrs. Morritt:

She is violently affected with ye Head-ache & a defluction of cold Rheum y^t every time she goes abroad is sure to be sick for ye remaining part of ye Day . . . indispositions she chiefly imputes to be owing to ye insupportable fateague she undergoes by reason of ye distance of ye School House from ye Market, where she is obliged to go every day & therefore gets cold and wet in her feet by excessive dews and rains w^{ch} fall.

The toll of climate in those days was exceedingly heavy. Nearly every second letter makes mention of it. Dr. Le Jau writes in 1716,

we had nothing but N-E winds these 3 months which caused all our sicknesses and the mortality that to this day rages amongst us.

Fifty years later it was called "this burning climate; the heats are now very violent, and sickness greatly prevails." The advice of a doctor whom James Reed consulted was that he leave the "low marshy part of the country" which must "necessarily subject to bilious disorders" for the western parts, "where the lands are high and intersected with pure purling streams, a pure air, untainted by the nauseous exhalations from swamps, Marshes or stagnated waters." The disorders that afflicted these missionaries from the west were many, varied and extreme; to modern ears they sound particularly horrible.

I have largely partaken in the general Calamity of a peripneumony Fever,

wrote James Burnett. Alexander Stewart lost his wife

from ye Flux which has raged with uncommon Violence . . . & been more mortall than ever I knew any other distemper . . . my Constitution tho' young & florid when I first arrived is now much shatter'd.

James Moir reported that his "constitution was so crazy" that he despaired of being of further use; Robert Maule, that his negro school at Charlestown was not flourishing owing to "ye small Pox, which was very fatal in March & April." "A dangerous Quinsy and Fever" afflicted William Orr,

occasioned by being obliged to travel several miles in a great Rain, as I returned from the Parish-Church to my own House.

"The Yelloe Feaver, in which they die suddenly," was at times a great and malignant scourge. Medical science then availed little; yet doctors' bills were crippling to the missionary. A man who was taken ill of a fever which at once deprived him of the use of his limbs got no better though he "used ye Cold Bath constantly." "When I came into this Country first," said Robert Maule,

I thought nothing could hurt me: But I now find by Experience that the Climate can Break even the Strongest Constitution.

This slight survey thus ends on a note of human weakness, and emphasizes the fact that the story told by these letters is in truth a very "human" story. No attempt has been made here to explore their political, economic or religious implications. There is no doubt that valuable research can be made along these lines. For us today, the dominant interest lies in the contributions made to American life and development by these English missionaries, and in the ties thus formed between our two great nations—ties which to Le Jau and Johnston, Reed, Ludlam, Guy, Hall, Stewart, Orr, must have appeared frail enough but which our very presence here, two centuries later, attests to have been the strongest ties of all—kinship and a mutual past. It has no doubt crossed your minds that the tale presented is painted in sombre colours; faith and perseverance are implicit, but for the rest we hear of misfortunes, disappointments, sickness, rather than of abundant joy. It was bound to be so; it is not the sower, but the reaper, to whom perfection of joy comes.

It may be appropriate to note here in passing that many types of men were included among these early missionaries; that here and there were "abandoned missionaries" (to use the phrase of Governor Dobbs), whose motives were discreditable, whose lives "publicly vile," "the greatest hindrance to religion in these parts." Among such was the man who affixed to Black River Church in 1755 a verse too ribald for repetition! But real moral delinquency was far from being the only ground for an unenviable reputation; such might attach to men whose worse fault was rigidity of mind, an uncompromising temperament which by training and upbringing unfitted them to work harmoniously among the turbulent, strong-willed colonists. Such a clash of ideas no doubt underlay the petition of the Vestry of St. James', Goose Creek, when they begged for a successor to Dr. Le Jau:

. . . only this wee do humbly desire; that he may not
be A North Britain.

By far the bulk of these eighty-seven missionaries were "exemplary good Livers"; there was keen competition among parishes to secure any newly-arrived clergyman from England; and when through any cause a parish was left vacant, the appeals for help that reached the Society from local Vestries were urgent and ardent. It was perfectly natural that facts often failed to meet the expectations of newcomers from England; the missionaries came very definitely as Englishmen, and loyalty to Crown and an Established Church was the basis of their philosophy. If they were "insular," no less might the colonists of those days be termed prejudiced, even provincial. Perfect accord between minister and people was out of the question when opinions were strong and political questions affected each individual directly. The missionary found that his furrow was certainly lonely, generally uphill and steep. To puzzling questions of conscience and patriotism—questions that became ever more acute as the century went by—were added extremes of poverty, separation from their native land, harsh conditions of climate and work, sickness, the alarms due to living in an unsettled country with frontiers constantly exposed to enemies, were they Indians, Spaniards or French; no wonder that he saw nothing of the "glamour" of pioneering life but sometimes at the end of his ministry was conscious chiefly of failure and uselessness.

How very differently we can appraise it! That brief present of theirs, seemingly so circumscribed, led to a future universally important—universal because no act or thought of present-day America can fail to be reflected through the world. The apparent failure which to them must have seemed immeasurable as events swept forward to the climax of 1783, has borne fruit great beyond telling. It is only in "the high and holy places" that the worth of their achievement can be truly measured. But as we meet here to celebrate with joy and pride this most splendid third Jubilee of the American Church, it is fitting that we also honour and renown those servants of the S. P. G. who, eighty years before the consecration of the first American bishop, helped to make its foundation possible by their lives and labours in the eighteenth century.

THE CENTENNIAL OF THE SPIRIT OF MISSIONS

By G. Warfield Hobbs

WITH its issue of January, 1936, *The Spirit of Missions* begins the second century of its service to the world-wide Missionary Program of the Church. In the century that has gone this magazine, the one official missionary publication of the Church, has recorded the beginning and development of every unit in that missionary life, has enlisted the services of hundreds of men and women at home and abroad who have made its work possible; has weathered whatever difficulties confronted it so that there never has been interruption in its monthly appearance, and today, with a larger readership than ever in its history and upon a financial basis never before matched, continues devotedly to serve the holy cause which called it into being.

The magazine, endeared now to generations of loyal Churchmen by both history and mission, was one of the evidences of the coming of age of the Church in that memorable General Convention at Philadelphia in 1835. Then, under the leadership of Bishop Doane, seconded, however, by the whole body, the Church was formally enlisted in the furtherance of Christ's Great Commission when her baptized children were united by the law of the Church into what technically we call the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. The great work, thus inaugurated, was to care for both foreign and domestic fields, and expressed itself in naming men for an evangelistic assault upon the paganism of China, and the election and consecration of Bishop Kemper to be the first of the long line of those missionary bishops who have directed the Church's efforts to win this continent for Christ.

Any such enterprise needed an agency by which the Church at home might be kept informed of the progress of these great projects and thus be inspired to support workers already in the field and to provide others as opportunity offered. Inevitably the leadership of that day turned to printers' ink. In resolutions eloquent in their appreciation of the greatness of the task, of the need for an informed constituency, and for persistent pleas for support, the Board of Missions established *The Spirit of Missions*, authorized that it be published monthly commencing with January, 1836, decreed that the price to subscribers would be one dollar per annum, and variously

The Spirit of Missions;

EDITED FOR

THE BOARD OF MISSIONS

OF

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH,

IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

VOLUME I.—NUMBER I.

To the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places,
might be known, by the Church, the manifold wisdom of God.

St. Paul to the Ephesians.

JANUARY, MDCCCXXXVI.

J. L. POWELL:

AT THE MISSIONARY PRESS,

BURLINGTON, NEW JERSEY.

insured the inauguration of this journalistic effort upon a wise basis. In accord with the resolution adopted by the Board of Missions just a century ago the magazine was issued in octavo of 32 pages with cover under the direction of the Rev. Benjamin Dorr, Secretary for Domestic Missions, and the Rev. James Milnor, D. D., Secretary and General Agent of the Committee for Foreign Missions.

Long before this action, however, the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society had realized the necessity for some such approach to the Church. Almost at the moment of its organization in 1821 the Society began the publication of occasional missionary papers. In 1831, there was begun a bi-monthly called *The Periodical Missionary Paper*. This lasted two years and was succeeded in 1833 by a monthly called *Missionary Record*. The inauguration of *The Spirit of Missions* therefore represented a growing conviction based on experience that a printed message as widely distributed as possible was vital to the cause.

"There needs no argument," says the opening editorial in the first issue, "to enforce the duty of consecrating the Press, by making it tributary to the cause of 'Christ and the Church.'" The original editorial writer went much further: "It is an instructive lesson of God's Providence," he says, "that when the fullness of the time had come for the redemption of His Church from Papal bondage and corruption, a new art was prepared, by whose strange agency, the truth, which was to make men free, should be borne forth, as 'on the wings of mighty winds' to all the nations. It was in the promotion of this great cause that the wonderful influence of the Press was first made manifest; so that 'the art of printing,' as has been well said, 'answered in some measure, in this age of the revival of the Gospel, to the miraculous gift of tongues in the age of its first publication.'" And it goes on: "Of the great advantages to be derived from such a publication, it must be superfluous to speak at length. By the present Missionary organization, it is the Church herself that undertakes the conversion of the world. Engaging in so great a work, in the name and strength of her divine and glorious Head, her appeal is made to all, who, in the sacrament of baptism, have bound themselves to be his soldiers until death, to come up to His help against the mighty. For this continual, urgent, glorious summons, the 'Spirit of Missions' will be, in her hand, as the silver trumpet of the sanctuary. By the record of what her Missionaries and other servants have accomplished or begun; by the exhibition of the 'great things,' which the Lord shall put it into her heart to undertake for the glory of his name; by the continual presentation of the wants of perishing souls—souls for which Jesus Christ poured out his precious blood—perishing for

lack of knowledge—the Church will seek to impress her children with a proper sense of their indelible baptismal obligations, and to rouse them to a better estimate of their inestimable baptismal privileges. She will thus appeal especially to every Pastor, as her agent in this glorious work, ‘for Jesus’ sake’; and urge him, by a ‘sound’ that none shall deem ‘uncertain,’—as he goes in and out among the people whom the Lord has left with him to feed, or as he gathers them with each revolving month to hear the simple story of the Missionary’s toils, the Missionary’s tears, the Missionary’s loss of all for Christ—to instruct their understandings in the nature, to fix upon their consciences the responsibility, and to engage their hearts in the sublime, self-sacrificing charity of the Missionary enterprise. May God, without whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy, accept and aid this effort for the glory of his name.’ May it please him to give it access to the hearts of men, and crown it with complete success! Imbued from on high with the spirit of truth, the spirit of peace, the spirit of love, the spirit of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, may it approve itself, in deed and in truth, The Spirit of Missions!”

The first issue contained a long letter from the Rev. Mr. Hill, the missionary in Greece; letters from the missionaries “in the Western States,” Bishop Otey of Tennessee, Bishop Kemper of Indiana and Missouri, from Michigan, Kentucky and Illinois; proceedings of the Domestic Committee and the Foreign Committee; a long abstract of a sermon about possibilities of work in Persia; letter from an Illinois layman begging for a clergyman for his church and personally pledging a large share of his support; several pages of editorial notes; the Constitution of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, members of the Board of Missions, a list of all missionaries, domestic and foreign, and stations where there were vacancies. The foreign stations were: Greece, China, Africa, Texas, and Persia. Texas is the surprising one! Of course it was foreign country until 1845. This first issue did not contain acknowledgments of contributions, due to lack of space, but always after that month they were listed in detail until in February, 1912, the receipts for one month filled 24 pages!

The illustrations which now fill so important a place in every issue began in Volume 4 with a drawing of Athens, the mission residence and school inserted in the margin. Pictures come into use very slowly, only three or half a dozen to a whole year. In January, 1844, there is a map of the Diocese of New York, extending from Long Island to the St. Lawrence, and showing the canals marked in red. Other maps were published, beautiful, delicate work, some of them; and many more or less imaginary pictures were used, such as a New Zealand chief and his two children. Very austere drawings of mission

buildings appear in early issues, some of them showing at its worst the unhappy architecture of the time, erected at a cost of work and giving and sacrifice and effort we know little about nowadays. The first use of a picture on the cover seems to have been in March, 1904, on a special children's number.

We have noted that the earliest editors of the magazine were the Secretaries for Domestic and Foreign Work. On the cover of the February, 1866, number the words "and of the Freedmen's Commission" were added and a third section appears dealing with an activity high in Christian thought in the years following the Civil War of which the Rev. J. Brinton Smith, D. D., was General Agent. In January, 1869, an elaborate cover attracted attention from which "the Freedmen's Commission" had disappeared, and place was now given to "Home Missions to Colored People," which phrase was used until the "Jubilee Number" of 1871. Here is part of the history of the continued service of this Church in a field now covered by the American Church Institute for Negroes, repeatedly represented in the pages of the magazine today.

The first time that the name of a Secretary is printed as the Editor of the magazine is in January, 1912, when John W. Wood is given as Editor, and Hugh L. Burleson as Associate. Dr. Burleson, after service as Associate Editor, became Editor in January, 1915, was elected and consecrated Missionary Bishop of South Dakota in the following year, so that another name, splendid in our missionary annals, that of the beloved Bishop Suffragan of New York, Arthur S. Lloyd, for a period following February, 1917, was at the masthead as Editor.

In 1916 the Rev. Charles E. Betticher, Jr., who had won his spurs in the missionary life of the Church in Alaska, became Managing Editor, then Associate Editor with Bishop Lloyd, and from 1920 until his death in April, 1922, Editor of the Magazine. Upon the death of Mr. Betticher, Mr. Gibson called upon Mrs. Kathleen Hore, who had served as assistant through a long period and had distinguished herself as amanuensis both to Hudson Stuck and Bishop Burleson, to become Editor in charge until November, 1923, when to the writer, then completing nearly a quarter of a century of editorial responsibility in the secular world, and preparing for ordination, fell the great privilege of succeeding to this inspiring task. Later upon his election as Executive Secretary of the Department of Publicity, he retained the Editorship, adding to the staff of the Department, Mr. William E. Leidt, as Associate Editor, Mr. Leidt having served previously both in the Departments of Foreign Missions and of Christian Education.

While only these few names have appeared on the editorial page, many who have been distinguished in missionary interest and leadership have co-operated in the promotion and production of the magazine, among them the Rev. Drs. A. T. Twing, Richard B. Duane, Joshua Kimber, and W. S. Langford.

With the reorganization of the Board of Missions as the National Council in 1919, responsibility for the production of the magazine was transferred to the Department of Publicity, and its first Executive Secretary, the Rev. Dr. Robert F. Gibson, directed the affairs of the magazine with editorial assistance.

While in the century since its establishment there has been little change in the page size of *The Spirit of Missions*, there have been great changes in its editorial content and make-up, as it has grown from a little 32-page monthly to a substantial magazine of from 48 to 64 pages each issue. There have been times within recent years when an issue has run to as many as 96 pages.

Early issues were devoted largely to correspondence received from missionaries both at home and abroad, formal reports of the Board of Missions, and acknowledgments of offerings received. After a time an occasional article crept in. The magazine was divided into sections: Domestic, Foreign, Miscellaneous, Intelligence, and Acknowledgments. As the work of the Church grew, other sections were added: Indian Commission, and Colored. After the organization in 1871 of the Woman's Auxiliary a part of each issue was regularly devoted to "Women's Work." In January, 1891, the title of this section was changed to "The Woman's Auxiliary" and has continued a part of the magazine down to the present day.

It is a treasured tradition of the editorial staff that the last work for the cause of missions performed by Miss Julia Emery was the preparation of material for the Woman's Auxiliary section of the magazine. Little by little as health failed and strength waned, Miss Emery retired from those activities on behalf of missions which have given her so glorious a place in the history of the Church. She believed with all her heart in the value of the printed message; she loved *The Spirit of Missions* and clung to its pages to the very close of her life and service.

The first illustration, other than the reproduction of a line drawing, used in *The Spirit of Missions* appeared in the December, 1871, issue, and was the first specimen of the new art of photo-engraving published in any magazine in America. It was a half-tone of the Bishop of Lichfield and bore this note:

"The portrait of the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Lichfield is the first specimen of the new art of photo-engraving

in any magazine in this country. The pictures are literally photographs in printers ink. By a recently invented process, chemically prepared plates are exposed to the action of light under a photographic negative. The effect of the light upon the sensitized plate is to transform it into a veritable lithographic plate—the parts exposed to the action of light having an affinity for fatty or printers' ink, and the portion protected from light rejecting the ink and absorbing water. So, first, a wet roller is passed over a plate ready for the press, followed by an ink roller, and the paper then placed on the press, and run through the rollers at the rate of about sixty or seventy an hour.

"It is the most valuable invention connected with the art of photography in the last decade. The patent is owned in this country by our friend George G. Rockwood, and his associates, 845 Broadway, New York."

The cause of missions in our Church, especially foreign missions, has many reasons to acclaim the signal service rendered in many fields of activity by John Wilson Wood, D.C.L., at present Executive Secretary of the Department of Foreign Missions as one among the various titles he has held, each representative of a particular service and all marked by a deep consecration to the whole purpose of God for the world as reflected in our missionary program. *The Spirit of Missions*, as a magazine of significance, was literally the creation of Dr. Wood's missionary zeal, editorial skill and constructive imagination. Dr. Wood was called from service with the Brotherhood of St. Andrew to the Church Missions House by Bishop Lloyd, then Secretary of the Board of Missions. The Editorship of *The Spirit of Missions*, dating from the beginning of 1900 and continued for fourteen years, was just one of the tasks to which he set mind and heart. He found the magazine hardly more than a routine publication bearing few of the earmarks of an actual magazine. The change was instant. The very first number issued under the direction of Dr. Wood is a revelation of editorial vision. The whole typography is inviting. Pictures representing phases of missionary activity greet the eye. Features of wide range and general interest challenge attention and the missionary intelligence and illustration take on appealing form and reveal the skillful hand of editorial direction.

In 1902 the first special Lenten Number was published. This was devoted to "The Church and the Children: What the Christian missions are doing to better and brighten the lives of boys and girls around the world." An edition of 77,000 was sold by Church school pupils. This special Lenten number became a regular annual feature and is today an accepted means of helping Church school children augment their annual offering for missions. Four years later the

Lenten number had a special full-page picture as its cover. Thereafter one or two issues a year had full-page picture covers printed in one or two colors until 1911, when this type of cover was adopted as the standard for each issue. The picture cover continued in use until August, 1926, when a standardized text cover with conventional border was adopted. This new cover was used for a little over three and a half years, when it was replaced by other cover designs recently familiar to readers.

The regular departments in the magazine were added to in November, 1906, when a page devoted to the Educational Department was introduced. This page, together with the Woman's Auxiliary section, may be considered the forerunner of the present National Council section. In January, 1911, a Sunday School Department was added. In May, 1919, a Nation-wide Campaign Department appeared, and in March, 1920, our Work Among Foreign-born Americans found a place. In July, 1920, a regular departmental section was inaugurated, but strangely enough the departmental features previously introduced were not included. They were published in other parts of the magazine. It was not until August, 1923, that the departmental pages were organized into a regular National Council section of the magazine. Since that time there has been a steady improvement in the content and typography of this part of *The Spirit of Missions* until today it presents each month vital news of the National Council, its Departments, Auxiliaries, and co-operating Agencies in an attractive and readable style.

Since 1907 *The Spirit of Missions* in each General Convention year has paid particular attention to the missionary aspects of these triennial meetings and there has usually been a special Convention number. This awareness of significant events in the Church has been an increasingly important part of the editorial policy. This is well illustrated in *The Spirit of Missions* for 1934, which reveals this alertness to the contemporary scene. Every event of general Church significance during that year was adequately covered by the magazine, among them Church-wide Endeavor, Everyman's Offering, November Missionary Tours, Seabury Sesquicentennial, Church of the Air, and General Convention.

In October, 1920, the first special United Thank Offering number was published, a policy which has been repeated in almost every succeeding year. The issue in October, 1921, was devoted especially to the semi-centennial celebration of the Woman's Auxiliary. The year 1921 also marked the centennial of the organization of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society and was appropriately observed by the magazine.

It is hopeless here to undertake to give details of missionary history as recorded in the magazine. Needless to say, *The Spirit of Missions* files are a mine of source material, constantly referred to by historians of missionary and other Church activities. A culminative index for the years 1836 to 1900 (Vol. 1 to Vol. 65, inclusive,) was published early in 1902, prepared at the Church Training School in Philadelphia by Deaconess Carolina Sanford, the first head of the School. This index is arranged topically and alphabetically and is at the service of all who may care to consult its pages. An annual index is prepared and issued for each volume.

Any magazine worthy the name is a personality, not a commodity, and this is particularly true in the field of Christian journalism. The years of service rendered by *The Spirit of Missions* have given it, as each day's mail testifies, a very real place in the heart of the Church. For this reason even criticism is tempered by sweetness. The present editors are the inheritors of this gracious attitude and with a very sincere devotion strive not alone to be worthy of today's demands, but with even greater zeal to be worthy of predecessors who served so devotedly and so well.

A magazine is also a composite personality. Editors come and go, and make their contributions, but success or failure depends upon a co-operation on the part of the field which produces much of the material to be printed and upon the readers in our pews whose response determines the success or failure of much we strive to do. At the close of the century, therefore, those who today produce the magazine express to the whole of those interested groups a word of grateful thanks. As we begin the second century, we plead with all to help us make *The Spirit of Missions* an effective contact between the Church at home and her many hundreds of workers at home and abroad. If there is difficulty today in missionary interest and support one reason is found in the grave lack of missionary information among our people. *The Spirit of Missions*, month by month, offers an effective cure. It will continue in the future as in the past a prayerful effort so to scatter information that such information, filtered through experience, will become knowledge and that such knowledge under the Providence of God will become power, so that we individually and collectively may be worthy the magnitude of our task.

Grateful for the past, confident for the future, we begin this second century in the life of *The Spirit of Missions* radiant in the hope that God will use us in the future more than ever before, for His glory.

LIFE OF THE REV. JOHN HALL (1788-1869)*

By his grandson, the late Francis J. Hall.

MY grandfather was born in Lenox, Massachusetts, November 5, 1788, of Puritan ancestry. The line, so far as ascertained, begins with *Ichabod Hall*, who was born in Wales about 1705, and in early life came to New England. He was the first of seventeen children. He settled in Enfield, Connecticut, and had nine children.

Ebenezer, the oldest of these, was born in 1730. He moved to Berkshire County, Massachusetts, and was twice married, having twelve children by his first wife and four by his second wife. He was commander of the Massachusetts volunteers for frontier defense, and was noted as an Indian fighter.

The sixth of his children was *Moses*, born in New Marlborough, Massachusetts, in 1762. He enlisted in the Continental Army of the Revolutionary War at the age of eighteen. Subsequently he was a cloth dresser at Lee, Massachusetts, and then turned to farming in Lenox, Massachusetts. He had fourteen children, of whom the subject of this "Life" was the oldest.

My grandfather showed an early taste for study, and studied Latin and Greek under the Rev. Dr. Hyde, a Congregational minister at Lenox. At the age of nineteen he began to study medicine, but the migration of the family to Ohio changed his plans.

He traveled alone on horseback to Ashtabula, Ohio, reaching there February 7, 1811. His father, Moses Hall, came to Ohio in the same year with the rest of his children, and bought timbered lands in Ashtabula, Dover, and Lorain County, giving 150 acres to each of his sons and 100 acres to each of his daughters—the land being distributed in the places above named.

My grandfather at once took a clerkship with Mr. Hall Smith, a cousin who kept a general store in Ashtabula. He boarded with this cousin, at the house of the Rev. Joseph Badger, a Presbyterian missionary.

Mr. Badger was the first Christian missionary in Ohio, commencing his labours in 1800 and continuing them for many years. His travels and toils were heroic, and in my own childhood my grand-

*From a manuscript in the library of the General Theological Seminary.

father told me various stories of his remarkable adventures among the Indians and with the wild beasts in the forests.

During the War of 1812, in March, 1813, my grandfather was bringing a sleigh-load of goods for Mr. Hall Smith from Connecticut. In Buffalo his sleigh was seized for use in meeting a British company which was thought to be advancing on the ice across Lake Erie to attack the city. He went along as driver. The alarm proved to be a false one, and he recovered his sleigh, reloaded his goods, and drove on to Ashtabula. In May of the same year he served in command of one of several small detachments sent out to watch along the lake shore near Ashtabula harbor against threatened landings of the British. Harmless shots were exchanged with a British vessel off shore, which finally sailed away. It was thought that the maneuver of marching in a circle among the trees gave the enemy the impression that a large force of Americans was ready to resist a landing.

My grandfather was married September 1, 1813, to Sarah Badger, daughter of the above mentioned Rev. Joseph Badger. She bore him six children (Lucia Noble, Mary Lois, Martha, Joseph Badger [my father], Moses, and Sarah Elizabeth) and died May 6, 1829. Embarrassed by his large family, he hastened his second marriage to Mrs. Harriet Wilcox, a widow, whose maiden name was Paddock, the marriage taking place November 30, 1829. She died December 17, 1833, after bearing him two daughters (Sarah and Hannah Elizabeth). He was married again to a widow, Mrs. Prudee Chester, September 6, 1837. She died without offspring October 6, 1853. None of his wives enjoyed good health, and his oldest daughter, Lucia Noble, was for many years the mainstay of the household. They were poor, and to her fell much of the burden of making ends meet and of looking after the younger children. She also helped to eke out the family income by teaching school. Her uncomplaining patience and uninterrupted self-effacement afforded an example which was glorified by her deep religious piety and earnest devotion to the Church. She was indeed a most saintly woman.

Previously to his entrance to the sacred ministry my grandfather taught in the common schools at different times, fourteen terms altogether. His curriculum included the primary branches and rhetoric, Latin and Greek. According to his own statement, "He always gave his pupils instructions in manners, morals, and the rudiments of Christianity. His text-books were the Bible, and such Catechisms as were preferred by the parents of the children, chiefly the Westminster Catechism, . . . a short Catechism of the Methodists, and the Church Catechism." He also served as Justice of the Peace, and was somewhat active in village affairs of all kinds.

I borrow an account of his conversion to the Church from Congregationalism from an article by the Rev. John Keller, in the *Living Church* of April 17, 1909. The facts were made known to him by "an aged communicant."

"In the early part of the last century appeals from the Western Reserve were sent to the city of New York for reading matter—Bibles, books, pamphlets, and other literature. Packing boxes and other receptacles were placed at the corners of lower Broadway and cross-streets. Somewhere in the neighborhood of Trinity Church . . . a Prayer Book was deposited as a gift for the Western people. After a long journey by wagon-road . . . the box of books arrived at Ashtabula.

"The Rev. Joseph Badger . . . was the censor of the reading matter so received. At the time a young school teacher, John Hall, a Congregationalist, . . . was living in the minister's family, and he was asked to assist in the censorship. The Prayer Book . . . came into his hands. Curiosity led him to read it carefully; it became his text-book on the Church and her ways. Convinced by a more careful perusal that he must seek Holy Orders, he sought the advice of the rector of St. Peter's Church."

It is of interest to note that both the Rev. Roger Searle and the first Bishop of Ohio, Dr. Chase, were also converted to the Church by reading the Prayer Book.

Along with a Mr. Rufus Murray, my grandfather was examined and admitted as Candidate for Holy Orders June 21, 1820, being placed under the Rev. Roger Searle, rector of St. Peter's Church, for completion of his studies. He was ordained Deacon by Bishop Chase at the Diocesan Convention held in Worthington, June 9, 1822, and priest in a schoolhouse in the East Village of Ashtabula, August 31, 1823.

He at once became Mr. Searle's assistant, officiating at St. Peter's Church, and also making various missionary trips through Mr. Searle's extensive field. On Mr. Searle's resignation of St. Peter's Church, he became its rector, March, 1824, and resigned his rectorship in January, 1832. It is not usual for pioneers to be generous in support of the Church, and the reason of my grandfather's resignation was lack of support. In all his long ministry he never received over \$400 a year, and was for some time obliged to eke out his living by farming.

However, he continued to officiate occasionally in the parish until May, 1834, "as his impaired and much interrupted health would permit," and during the following two years he occasionally visited

the parish "as missionary." In September, 1836, he was again elected as rector of St. Peter's Church, and continued as such until his final retirement in May, 1854, when he was succeeded by the Rev. Homer Wheeler.

In 1850-1851, the Rev. George F. Richards, a saintly man, was assistant rector, and principal of the parish school which was started in 1850. Mr. Richards died in 1851, being married to my grandfather's daughter Elizabeth on his deathbed.

My grandfather was prevented by poverty from attending the Diocesan Convention regularly; but at the Convention of 1831 he was Chairman of the Committee appointed to consider the resignation of Bishop Chase. This Committee recommended its acceptance.

From his study of the Prayer Book my grandfather derived very high Church convictions, these being confirmed by the instruction of the Rev. Roger Searle, who brought the Bishop Seabury traditions to Ohio. As time went on, my grandfather laid more and more stress on sacramental doctrine. He taught Confession and heard many confessions—this before he had heard anything about the Tractarian movement. A visiting clergyman accused him of being a "Puseyite." Inquiring what that meant, he procured the *Tracts for the Times*. When he next met his visitor he said to him, "You are mistaken. Dr. Pusey is a Hallite. I have held his principles throughout my ministry." He, of course, knew nothing of the ceremonial developments of later time. He would not solemnize a marriage when either party was unbaptized; and he invariably published the Banns, and when he could persuade the parties, married them before the congregation in the Sunday morning service.

Having for several years increased the frequency of his Eucharistic celebrations, he began weekly celebrations—the first in America—in the fall of 1842. His example was quickly followed at Nashotah, Dr. Adams being in frequent correspondence with him, and Dr. Odenheimer, subsequently Bishop of New Jersey. In the parish record for Easter, 1843, my grandfather made this entry: "He has determined (God willing) henceforward to observe in the Church all the appointed feasts and fasts of the Church, and to administer the Holy Communion every Lord's Day, and to receive no more pew rents." The weekly Eucharist has ever since been the rule of St. Peter's Church, Ashtabula. God be thanked!

My grandfather had many trials and much sickness in his family, and entered in his diary a pathetic acknowledgment of the kindness on one occasion of a visiting clergyman, who left a five-dollar bill with him. There was no other money in sight. The priest in ques-

tion has long since gone to his reward. May eternal light shine upon him.

My grandfather did much traveling about to scattered Churches, and was known by all the farmers in the northeastern part of the State. He was affectionately called Father Hall, sometimes Parson Hall.

His most frequent ministrations were in Unionville (once a month for some years), Rome, Windsor, Plymouth, Jefferson, and Painesville. He also officiated in Dover, Norwalk, and Medina; and from September 1, 1858, to August 1, 1859, was assistant to the Rev. Dr. James Bolles in the Chapel of Trinity Church Home, Cleveland. During this period he performed occasional services at Trinity and Grace Churches of that city for their rectors.

He had kind friends in Cleveland, and had been interested in the formation of Grace Church Parish. On the motion of Mr. Punderson, the Vestry of Grace Church resolved, April 8, 1848, that—

"Whereas, the Rev. John Hall, rector of St. Peter's Church, Ashtabula, has been largely instrumental under the direction of Divine Providence, in planting the Church in North Eastern Ohio, and has, by his untiring and persevering labours, from county to county, from town to town, and from house to house, been the means of disseminating and preserving among the early settlers on the Reserve a knowledge of the Apostolic Church of Christ, therefore,

"Resolved, as a testimony of the high estimation in which the Vestry holds the services of the Rev. John Hall, rector of St. Peter's Church, Ashtabula, as the pioneer of the Church on the Western Reserve, and as an expression of our regard for his person and character as a faithful, laborious and affectionate pastor of the fold of Christ, that he be requested to sit for his portrait for the Parish of Grace Church, to be preserved as a memento by the Wardens and Vestrymen thereof."

This portrait still hangs in the vestry room of Grace Church and has been regarded by those who knew him as his best portrait.

I spent a night some years since with an old farmer near Unionville, Ohio. He noticed my clerical clothes, and walking up and down with sharp glances at me, said, "They don't make such ministers now-a-days as we used to have!" (Pause.) "You remind me of a parson that *was* a parson. You have the same name." I said, "Are you speaking of Father Hall?" He answered, "Yes; did you know him?" I replied, "He was my grandfather." The old man rushed forward, completely thawed out, and grasped my hand in both of his, saying, "I am glad to meet you." He then told me that

my grandfather made himself acquainted with everybody, far and wide, and was held in the utmost reverence; and that all called him "Father." Everyone felt honoured by a chance to entertain him as long as he liked; and he used to travel hundreds of miles every year on horseback over the country.

During the closing portion of his life, he continued to assist in St. Peter's Church when he was able, and was on the most intimate and enjoyable terms with two successors, the Rev. Homer Wheeler and the Rev. James Bonner. He spent much time in his garden.

My father and mother lived with him, and I was born in his home December 24, 1857. With my parents' consent, he solemnly dedicated me to the priesthood on the day of my birth. He undertook my earliest education, giving me both religious and secular education. He always read Daily Morning and Evening Prayer in his study, and would take me into his lap and explain the daily lessons to me. To him the Bible was the Church's book, and to be interpreted as concerned throughout with Jesus Christ and His Church. He knew nothing, of course, about modern criticism; but he fixed in my childish mind a conception of the Old Testament which has saved me wholly from anxiety concerning the "results" of biblical criticism. Important parts of these "results" I have accepted, but this has not required me to modify my conception of biblical inspiration or to lower my recognition of the divine authority of the Bible in the least. And my experience under him convinces me that, when the Bible is taught to the young, as God's collection of memorials of the checkered growth of true religion, and of the gradual revelation of Jesus Christ and His Church, the teaching will never need correction—will never be outgrown.

My mother had much ill health and Aunt Lucia continued to be the mainstay in running the household. But in February, 1867, we moved to Chicago. My grandfather lived on for two years, Aunt Lucia being his only companion.

As the end drew near, my aunt told me in later years, he saw visions of another world which were very vivid and real to him. He died of old age—eighty years old—on January 12, 1869. An exceedingly impressive but simple funeral followed, and now his worn-out body rests in Chestnut Grove Cemetery, about a mile from the Church which he served so long. *May he rest in peace.*

BOOK REVIEWS

A Short History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Texas. By the Reverend DuBose Murphy, B.D., M.A., Rector of Christ Church, Tyler, Texas. Pp. 161. Turner Company, Dallas, Texas. 1935.

The beginnings of the Protestant Episcopal Church in what was then the Republic of Texas date back to Christmas Day, 1838, when eight men and women gathered in a schoolroom at Matagorda to receive the Holy Communion at the hands of the Rev. Caleb S. Ives, who had come from Alabama to open a school, and in September of that year was appointed missionary to Texas by the Foreign committee of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Church. From that point the author of this volume begins his story and traces the extension of the Church to places like Houston, Dallas, Galveston, and Austin. Matagorda was the first incorporated parish in the Republic. The diocese was organized in January, 1849, and admitted to union with the General Convention on October 4, 1850. The author has availed himself of all possible sources, handling them with admirable discretion. Deliberately setting out to write a *short* history, he has omitted nothing of importance without over-burdening the book with unnecessary detail. The sections dealing with the development of the dioceses of West Texas, Dallas, and the missionary district of North Texas are particularly valuable and enhanced by excellent portraits of all the bishops who have served or are serving in the Lone Star State. When times are more favorable one may hope for a supplementary volume containing reprints of the letters of the early missionaries which were printed in *The Spirit of Missions*. Meanwhile, Mr. DuBose Murphy has paved the way for a documentary history of the Church in Texas. He has provided an excellent bibliography and a comprehensive index. All in all, it is a valuable addition to the history of the Church in an interesting section of the United States.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

Jubilee: A Pioneer College. By Roma Louise Shively, M.A. Pp. 79. The Elmwood Gazette, Elmwood, Illinois. 1835.

The contents of this book were submitted as a thesis to the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota. The subject chosen presented large and interesting possibilities. Its purpose was to outline the unfortunate history of Jubilee College, founded by Bishop Philander Chase shortly after assuming his duties as Bishop of Illinois in 1835. It is a real regret to have to say that the effort falls short of success. There are some good notes and a fairly good bibliography, but the more important episodes are inadequately treated, especially the bitter opposition to Chase and his Jubilee project, opposition which went so far as to openly challenge his personal integrity. Phrases like "the Rev. Leffingwell" are unpardonable in a college graduate. There are not a few typographical errors, some misspelling of names, and the volume is so carelessly bound that pages drop out even when carefully handled.

The Divine Commission. A Sketch of Church History. By the Right Reverend Frank E. Wilson, D.D., S.T.D., Bishop of Eau Claire. Morehouse Publishing Co. Pp. 296.

The Bishop of Eau Claire has already rendered great service to the Church at large by his informing brochures on varying aspects of Church life, including its history and polity. His style is simple and clear. These qualities are exemplified in this, his latest, work. It is no small feat to tell the story of the Christian Church at large within the compass of two hundred and forty-two pages. Beginning with the Feast of Pentecost, he traces the varied story of her development down through the years to the Reformation and the period beyond. Then follow two illuminating chapters on the Church in America—"The Colonial Church" and "The Episcopal Church," the latter bringing us down to 1931. Such a book as this has long been needed. It is interesting, well proportioned, and entirely free from the ecclesiastical party spirit. This reviewer knows of no better work on General Church History to put into the hands of our lay people and none better fitted to be used for groups and the Young People's Fellowship. In the next edition the statement fixing 1845 as the time "when the Church broke into this new field" might be changed in view of the fact that the first parish in Texas (then a Republic) was founded by one of our missionaries who was sent to Texas in 1838.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

Boston (Botolph's Town). A Short History of a Great Parish Church and the Town About It. By A. M. Cook, M.A., Vicar of Boston, Prebendary of Carlton-cum-Thurlby and Canon of Lincoln. With a Foreword by Lord Hanworth, Master of the Rolls. Pp. 131. Published at the Church House, Boston. 1934.

This is a model parish history as interesting as it is informing and bringing out very clearly that the town of Boston and its noble and commanding parish church

are inseparably associated. The beginnings of the church date back to the seventh century, and it is named after St. Botolph, described by the Venerable Bede as "a pious monk who founded a monastery at Ikanho." A member of the Benedictine order so highly esteemed that seventy churches are dedicated to his memory. There is an outstanding link between St. Botolph's Church and the colonies of America. In 1612 John Cotton of Cambridge became rector of the parish. The story of his rectorship and his subsequent migration to Massachusetts is one of the most interesting parts of this book. The south-west chapel is dedicated to his memory. In this little book Canon Cook has succeeded in gathering the history of an ancient church and shooting it through with light and color.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

Reminiscences of a Parish Priest. By the Reverend Archibald Campbell Knowles. Morehouse Publishing Co. 1935. \$2.50.

This story of the life and work of a parish priest is shot through with interest and charm. Without the slightest suggestion of self-consciousness it unfolds the life of St. Alban's parish, Philadelphia, beginning with the day of small things and going on to the completion of one of our most beautiful parish churches and built as a memorial to the author's father. It has commanding interest for all lovers of churchly architecture and whatever is needful for worship in the beauty of holiness. Father Knowles was an influential member of the earlier Anglo-Catholic group and his *Reminiscences* shed much incidental light on the doctrines and practices of that group. When the history of the Anglo-Catholic movement in the American Church comes to be written this small volume will be valuable for source material.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

The following books have been received and will be reviewed in the next issue:

A History of the American Episcopal Church. By William W. Manross. Morehouse Publishing Co.

The Diocese of Western New York. By G. Sherman Burrows. Published by the Diocese of Western New York.

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